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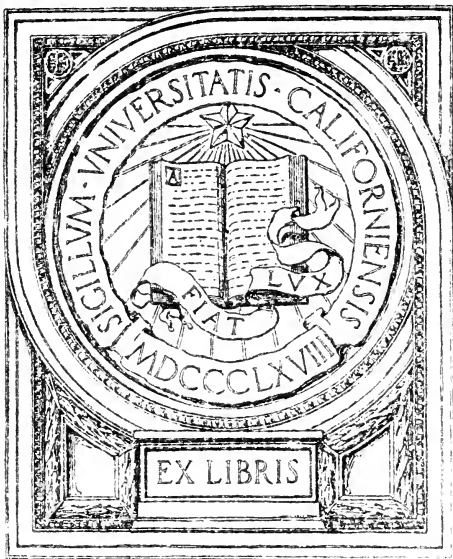


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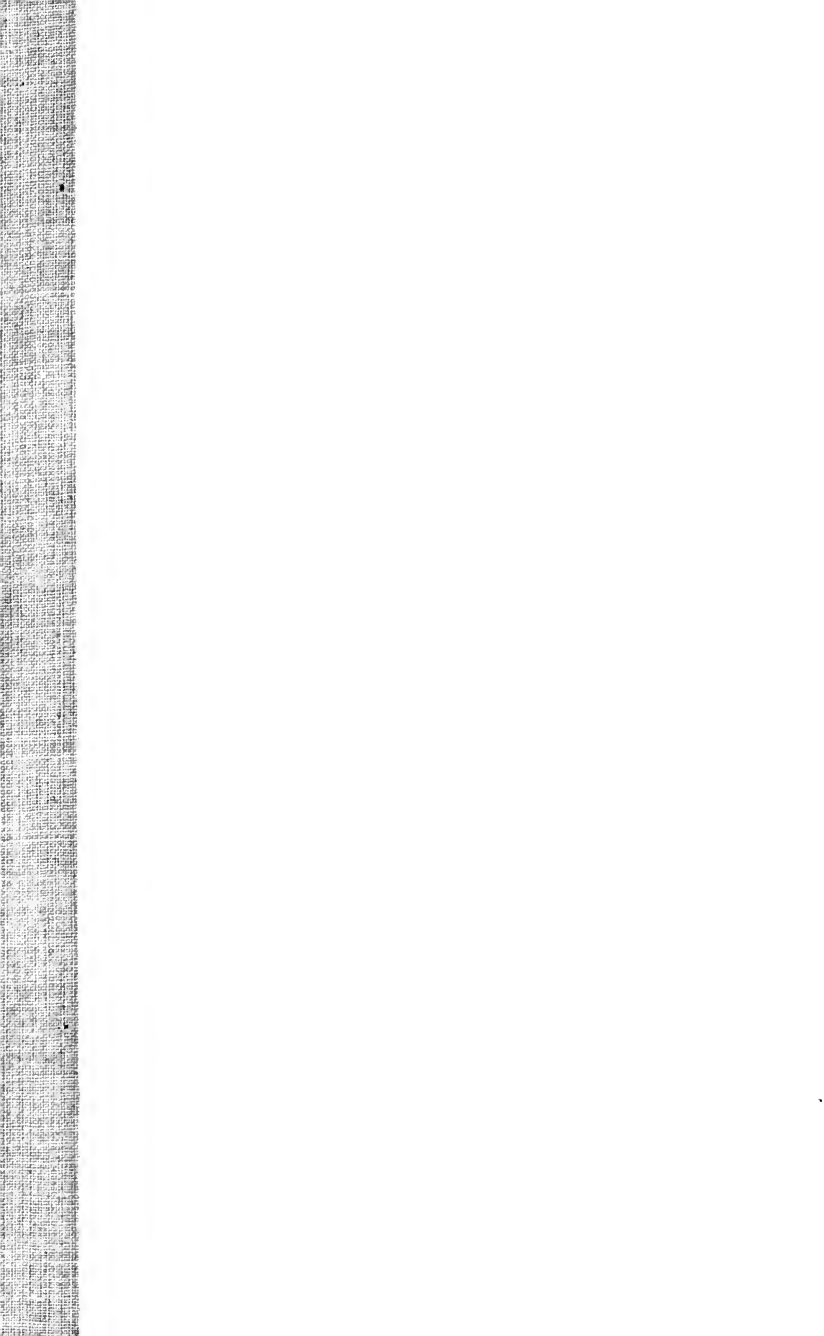
ENGLAND UNDER THE YORKISTS

1460-1485

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ENGLAND UNDER THE YORKISTS

1460-1485

ILLUSTRATED FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

BY

ISOBEL D. THORNLEY, M.A.

ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

WITH A PREFACE BY

A. F. POLLARD

[UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INTERMEDIATE SOURCE-
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PREFACE.

THE general scope and object of the series of Intermediate Texts, of which the present is the second volume, have been indicated in the preface to Miss Dorothy Hughes's "Illustrations of Chaucer's England". The first object is to supply University students of history with some means of appreciating and understanding the materials out of which English history is, or should be, constructed; and the second is to provide a different if not a wider public with a sort of introductory library of English historical sources, particularly with a view to illustrating those periods which are commonly but erroneously supposed to be poor in original records. The two objects are not incompatible. There is no reason, apart from the limitations of editorial scholarship, why collections of sources intended for use in schools and colleges should be limited to extracts from printed authorities. There are materials as appropriate in manuscript as in print, far more abundant, and often more apt; and it is quite feasible, while catering primarily for the needs of junior students, to multiply the printed sources available for their elders.

“England under the Yorkists” does not make quite the same appeal to students of literature as “Illustrations of Chaucer’s England”. But for those in search of fresh historical truth it has greater attractions. The stereotyped commonplace that, with the decline of the Middle Ages, the sources of English history diminish in quantity and deteriorate in quality is no more than a hasty generalisation from the facts that the monastic chronicles, which form the bulk of the Rolls Series, dwindle, and that the Rolls Series still constitutes for many students the *ne plus ultra* of historical research. It would be as rational to think that the sources of English history grow worse in the eighteenth century because the golden age of political pamphleteering then passed away; and this, too, would have become a commonplace, did there exist a corpus of political pamphlets so comprehensive, and so exclusive of other sources, as the Rolls Series of chronicles. The decline of monastic historiography is a symptom of a general failure in outlook and intelligence in monastic orders; but it was accompanied by a wider development outside their walls which we call the Renaissance. The tree does not die because new buds sap the old leaves, and the withering of monastic records was followed by an efflorescence of other growths. Town chronicles supplant those of the monasteries, lay minds supersede ecclesiastical intelligence, and the activities of the State surpass those of the Church. All these intellectual phenomena, which

necessarily preceded the changes of the sixteenth century, left their mark on the fifteenth and produced fresh categories of historical material. Until, however, the New Monarchy had done its work, England remained locally-minded and English history a matter largely of local record. Hence the importance of those town chronicles, some of them unprinted and none of them collected into a body of historical evidence, upon which Miss Thornley has frequently drawn.

The bulk of historical material does not in fact diminish during this period. It changes its form and direction, but it rapidly increases as a whole, in spite of gaps caused by the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses; and its multifarious variety is exemplified in these pages. A striking instance of the neglect of materials is afforded by the Calendars of State Papers. Historians of the sixteenth century have drawn freely upon them, but mediævalists have apparently been under the impression that such sources throw no light upon any period prior to 1485, although the first volume of the Venetian Calendar has been in print for fifty years. There is more excuse for the neglect of the numerous MS. sources from which Miss Thornley has drawn much of her material. Their abundance makes the task of selection arduous; but few, even among specialists, will fail to find some fresh light on the Yorkists and their kingdom, and Miss Thornley has, in her "Brief Account of Sources," provided

students with better guidance than has hitherto been available for the Yorkist period.

This volume, like its predecessor, is not intended to supplant the teacher's comment or the student's thought; its purpose is to supply the teacher with material for his discourse and the student with food for historical reasoning. For help in interpreting this evidence they must have recourse to histories like the relevant volumes in Longmans' and Methuen's series, Ramsay's "Lancaster and York," the later chapters in Stubbs' "Constitutional History," and Gairdner's "Richard III," and introduction to the "Paston Letters". Every student should have at hand the "Index and Epitome" to the Dictionary of National Biography; and even those who possess the 'Dictionary' itself will find in these two hundred documents material for correcting and supplementing that monumental work.

A. F. POLLARD.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOURCES.¹

THE standard bibliography of the Yorkist period is Dr. C. Gross's "Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485". (2nd ed., 1915.) It includes both secondary authorities and printed collections of sources; but as many of the records of this period are still unprinted and uncalendared, a brief survey of the more important classes may be useful as indicating the extent and nature of the material from which these extracts are partly drawn.

Professor Tout, in the appendix to Vol. III of "Longmans' Political History," says, "The record far excels the chronicle in scope, authority and objectivity, and a prime characteristic of modern research is the increasing reliance on the record rather than the chronicle as the sounder basis of historical investigation. . . . Of special importance for the political historian are the records of the Chancery and Exchequer."

The records of these two great government departments are preserved at the Public Record Office, and, with the other records there, have been catalogued and described in S. R. Scargill-Bird's "Guide to the Public Records". (3rd ed., 1908.) Among the more important classes of Chancery documents are the Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, Fine Rolls, Treaty Rolls, Inquisitions, Parliament Rolls, Statute Rolls, Ancient Petitions, and Warrants for the Great Seal. The Patent Rolls,* i.e. the official enrolments of documents—commissions, appointments, grants, pardons, licences, renewals of charters, royal mandates and many other instruments—cast in

¹ Chronicles or collections of records from which extracts appear in this volume are marked with an asterisk.

a certain form and passed under the Great Seal, have been calendared for the Yorkist period in three volumes, and many extracts have been printed in Rymer's "Foedera".¹ The extracts printed in this volume have been taken from the rolls themselves, a reference to the calendar being added. The Close Rolls,* i.e. the enrolments of mandates, letters, and writs of a more private nature, addressed to individuals, the Charter Rolls, enrolments of charters granted or confirmed, and the Fine Rolls, the records of agreements with, and payments to, the Crown for licences and grants of land or privileges, have not yet been calendared for the Yorkist period; but extracts from the Close Rolls have been printed by Rymer. Of the Treaty or Foreign Rolls, three series, the French,* Scottish and Gascon, extend to the Yorkist period. The French and Gascon Rolls, which had formerly been concerned with English possessions in France, contain treaties and diplomatic documents relating to European countries generally; they have not been calendared, but extracts from the French Rolls have been printed by Rymer. The Scottish Rolls, which contain documents relating to preparations for war and peace with Scotland, have been printed, with some omissions, by the Record Commission ("Rotuli Scotiæ," 1814-8), and extracts also appear in Rymer.

The Chancery "Inquisitions" include (a) Inquisitions *post-mortem*, held on the death of tenants in chief to enquire what land the tenant held and by what services, and the name and age of the heir (calendared by the Record Commission, 1806-28, and now being re-calendared); (b) Inquisitions *ad quod damnum*, to ascertain whether a proposed grant or licence was prejudicial to any interests already existing (calendared in the Record Office Series of "Lists and Indexes," 1904-6); (c) criminal inquisitions relating to murder and felony; and a great variety of others.

The Parliament Rolls, together with petitions and other

¹ When extracts, reprinted in this volume from Rymer, were taken by him from enrolments, the fact has been noted; when no note is given, Rymer's text is from the original document

Parliamentary documents, have been printed ("Rotuli Parliamentorum," * 1767-77). They are extremely valuable, not only for the light they throw on constitutional history in general and Parliament in particular, but also for the information they give incidentally on almost every aspect of English history. The Statute Rolls exist down to 1468; after 1483 the statutes were enrolled on the Parliament Roll only. The gap is filled by transcripts of the statutes among the Exchequer records and elsewhere. From these sources the collection known as the "Statutes of the Realm" * has been printed (Record Commission, 1810-9).

The Ancient Petitions, a large class of petitions to the King, the King and Council, the Council, Parliament, the Chancellor in his executive capacity, and other officers of state, have been indexed in the Record Office Series of "Lists and Indexes" (1892). The Early Chancery Proceedings,* petitions to the Chancellor in his judicial capacity, have been summarily calendared in the "Lists and Indexes" (1901-12), and printed examples for this period appear in "Select Cases in Chancery" (Selden Society, 1896), and at the beginning of "Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Elizabeth" (Record Commission, 1832). They give valuable information on many sides of national life—the lawlessness of the time, land tenure, social and economic conditions and customs, and the attitude to the Church; their statements must not be regarded as necessarily accurate, but they represent what the petitioners regarded as being the truth of the matter, or at least what they hoped would be accepted as such, and they therefore show what the people of the time would have thought reasonable.

The "Warrants" for the Great Seal, which are usually documents authenticated by the Privy Seal or the King's signature reciting a grant, licence or other document to be made out under the Great Seal, contain much more than a mere duplicate of the documents found in their final form on the Patent Roll. They often have prefaces explaining why the grants are desired, or may be simply petitions for a grant, which are valuable for social history. They also record many grants which the grantees did not trouble to have formally enrolled.

The Exchequer records for the Yorkist period naturally include many classes of documents connected with finance—accounts of collectors of customs, escheators, sheriffs, and other officials, issue rolls and warrants for issue, receipt rolls, subsidy rolls, and others. Very little of this material has been printed, but the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV for 1480 were edited by Sir H. Nicolas (1830), and a few scraps of financial records were printed by Rymer. The Exchequer records include many other classes of documents; some, like the Forest Accounts and Proceedings—inquisitions, pleas, and perambulations of royal forests—and the Memoranda Rolls relating to money due to the Crown, are connected more or less directly with the royal revenue; others, such as the classes of diplomatic and Scottish documents, were originally deposited in the Treasury, a department of the Exchequer.

The Public Record Office also contains large classes of documents of every kind relating to the Palatinate of Durham, the Palatinate and Duchy of Lancaster, and the Courts of Wales and Chester, many of which belong to the Yorkist period.

Another considerable class of documents consists of judicial records, very few of which have been calendared. They include (a) “*Coram Rege*” Rolls or rolls of proceedings in the court of King’s Bench; (b) Ancient Indictments, which comprise many other judicial documents besides indictments,* such as coroners’ inquisitions, warrants for arrest, jury panels, and rolls of sessions of the peace; * (c) the “*Baga de Secretis*” or records of State trials, calendared in the “3rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records” (1842); (d) Assize, Eyre and Gaol Delivery Rolls; Essoin Rolls, or excuses for non-appearance; (e) “*Placita de Banco*” or rolls of the Court of Common Pleas; (f) fines or settlements of suits, and others. A few Star Chamber Proceedings* for the period remain, and some have been printed in “*Select Cases in the Star Chamber*” (Selden Society, 1910), “*Proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber*” (Somerset Record Society, 1911), and “*Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings*” (Yorks Archaeological Society, 1909). It is convenient to mention the Year Books* here, though they are not public

records; they are notes of discussions and decisions on obscure and interesting legal and constitutional points in cases which arose in the law-courts or on questions officially referred to the judges. Those of the Yorkist period are printed in sixteenth and seventeenth century editions only.

In addition to these and many other records of the central government, local records of the period survive in many places. Towns often have large collections of records; some have been printed or calendared wholly or in part, like those of London,* Leicester,* Nottingham,* York,* and Coventry.* Dr. Gross's "Bibliography of Municipal History" (1897) is the standard work on the subject, but much has been done since the date of his book, chiefly by local record societies. The archives of a number of towns have been calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Besides the corporations, other town bodies such as guilds have left records; a number for this period have been printed ("English Gilds,"* ed. Toulmin Smith, E.E.T.S., 1870).

Ecclesiastical records are another important source of history. Of bishops' registers, which record the official acts of a bishop during his term of office and often preserve copies of official letters and other documents addressed to him, only those of Bishops Stanbury* and Milling of Hereford have yet been printed in full for this period (Cantilupe and Canterbury and York Societies, 1918-9). Extracts from others, especially those of Canterbury and York,* are printed in Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae" (1737). Extracts from the register of Bishop Chedworth of Lincoln have been printed in "Lincoln Diocese Documents" (E.E.T.S., 1914). Printed examples of other classes of ecclesiastical records for this period are "Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury" (C.S., 1850); "Records of the Northern Convocation" (Surtees Society, 1906); "Mediæval Records of a London City Church" (E.E.T.S., 1904-5), which includes churchwardens' accounts and memoranda and inventories of church furniture; "Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minister"* (C.S., 1891);

and "*Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*"* (C.S., 1904-6), the visitations of the houses of the Premonstratensian Order in England. Many cartularies of monasteries, which contain copies of their deeds and charters, particulars of their estates, letters, bulls and other documents received by them, some of which relate to this period, have been printed in the *Rolls Series* and by local record societies.

Manorial records, which survive largely in private hands, consist chiefly of court-rolls and documents dealing with land, rents, and customs. "*A List of Printed Original Materials for English Manorial and Agrarian History*" (Radcliffe College Monographs, no. 6; by F. G. Davenport, 1894), gives the account rolls, court rolls, customaries, rentals and extents of the Yorkist period printed down to 1894, but much has been done since by local record societies (e.g., "*Court Rolls of Carshalton*"* Surrey Record Society, 1916).

Distinct from the "records" of the official activity of the Government are the State Papers which contain its correspondence with its agents at home and abroad. The series of "Domestic" State Papers does not begin until after the Yorkist period, and the Government's correspondence with foreign countries is meagre and has to be sought in scattered sources. But the correspondence of foreign Governments with their agents in England is more abundant and accessible. These State Papers in foreign archives are an important source of English history. Two printed series which cover the Yorkist period are the Venetian* and Milanese* "*Calendars of State Papers*," abstracts or transcripts of Ambassadors' despatches and other letters and papers relating to English affairs preserved in Italian archives. The Venetian series (Vol. I, 1864) at first included papers from other archives in northern Italy, but the wealth of material soon necessitated its being confined to Venice alone. When a separate series to deal with the archives of Milan was begun (Vol. I, 1913) the few Milanese papers included in the Venetian Calendar were found to have been calendared from very faulty transcripts, so they were re-calendared from the originals. In cases where a letter reprinted in this

volume is included in both calendars, it has therefore always been copied from the Milanese Calendar.

The chronicles, letters, ballads, and other literary materials for the history of the period have been fully discussed and criticised in "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, with an Appendix of Chronicles . . . hitherto unprinted," by C. L. Kingsford (1913); and the town chronicles in more detail in "Chronicles of London," ed. C. L. Kingsford (1905), and "Six Town Chronicles," ed. R. Flenley (1911). It is therefore only necessary to mention the more important chronicles and collections.

A large number of letters of the period are in print. The Paston* (ed. Gairdner, 1872-5; reprinted, 1901; 1904; 1910); Cely* (C.S., 1900), Stonor (C.S., 1919), and Plumpton* (C.S., 1839) are the most important collections of family letters which fall partly within it. Other collections are the "*Literæ Cantuarienses*" or letterbooks of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury (R.S., 1887-9), "Christ Church Letters"* (C.S., 1877), and "*Epistolæ Academicæ*" of Oxford (Oxford Historical Society, 1898). Detached letters are printed in Ellis's "Original Letters" (1825-40), Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England" (1846), Wood's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies" (1846), Champollion Figeac's "*Lettres des Rois*" (1839-47), "Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII"* (R.S., 1861-3), and elsewhere, and many of them would, at a later time, have been classified as domestic or foreign State Papers. There are a few unpublished letters of the period in the "Ancient Correspondence"* at the Record Office (catalogued in "Lists and Indexes," 1902), and Mr. Kingsford has printed in "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century" a calendar of the letters of the period specifically mentioned in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Many others remain unnoticed, and neither this short summary nor Mr. Kingsford's more elaborate treatment exhausts the subject.

The more important printed collections of songs and ballads, containing some which are valuable for the history of the Yorkist period, are "Political Poems and Songs"* (R.S., 1859-61),

George Ashby's "Poems"* (E.E.T.S., 1899), and Vol. III of "Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript" (ed. Hales and Furnivall, 1868).

The line of monastic chronicles had almost reached its end by 1461; it is represented, however, by the two continuations of the Croyland Chronicle* (printed in Gale's "Scriptores I," 1684), the Register of Abbot Whethamstede* (R.S., 1872-3), and a few scraps issuing from other monasteries such as those of Gloucester* (Kingsford, "English Historical Literature"); Ely ("Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 1880); Bury St. Edmunds ("Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey," R.S., III, 1896); and Tewkesbury (Kingsford, "English Historical Literature"). The place of chronicles written by ecclesiastics had been taken by the town chronicles, those of London being by far the most important. Foremost of these comes the Great Chronicle of London,* which is being edited by Mr. E. H. Dring; it is the best surviving representative of a main stock from which most of the London chronicles were derived. Next to it comes the chronicle contained in Cotton MS. Vitellius, A., XVI* ("Chronicles of London," ed. Kingsford, 1905). Gregory's Chronicle* ("Historical Collections of a London Citizen," C.S., 1876), the Short English Chronicle ("Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 1880), and MS., Gough, London, 10* ("Six Town Chronicles," ed. Flenley, 1911), likewise belong to this period. Chronicles of other towns, on a much less ambitious scale, are also to be found for this period; printed examples are a chronicle of Lynn (Bodleian MS. Western 30745 in "Six Town Chronicles"), and the "Mayor of Bristol's Calendar" (C.S., 1872).

Of other chronicles of the period, not connected with a particular place, the most important are those of Warkworth* (C.S., 1839), William Worcester* ("Wars of the English in France," II, R.S., 1864), the Latin Continuation of the Brut* ("Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S.), the Fragment,* printed by Hearne with Sprott's "Chronicle" (1719), and the "Historia Regum Angliae" of John Rous (ed. Hearne, 1729). The end of Hardyng's "Chronicle" (ed. Ellis, 1812), and some

brief Yorkist Notes (Kingsford, "English Historical Literature") also belong to this period. Besides the chronicles written by private persons, official accounts of certain events were written and circulated; examples of these are the "Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire" (C.S., 1847), and the "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV" * (C.S., 1838).

Of foreign contemporary works the most important is the "Mémoires" of Philippe de Comines * (Société de l'Histoire de France, ed. Dupont, 1840-7. Ed. B. de Mandrot, 1901-3), who was in turn the trusted servant of Charles the Bold and Louis XI; the Mémoires extend to 1498, the part dealing with the years 1464 to 1483 being written between 1489 and 1491. Two French chronicles which extend to 1471 are those of Waurin * (Société de l'Histoire de France, ed. Dupont, 1858-63, R.S., 1864-91); and Chastelain (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1863).

Two English works not written till the sixteenth century, but valuable because their authors were able to obtain information from actors in the events of the last years of the Yorkist period, are Polydore Vergil's "Historia Anglica" * (C.S., 1844), and Sir Thomas More's "History of Richard III" * (ed. Lumby, 1883). With the latter the art of writing history, as distinct from chronicles and annals, has been said to begin.

The editor's warmest thanks are due to Mr. E. H. Dring, who placed his transcript of the Great Chronicle of London at her disposal, and allowed extracts to be printed from it; to Dr. Rachel R. Reid for help in selecting and annotating the documents dealing with the Council in the North; and to Miss E. Jeffries Davis for advice often asked and always generously given.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS.

THE translation of the Acts of Parliament included in this volume is the one printed in the Record Commission's edition of the Statutes of the Realm side by side with the French original. The translation of the Irish Annals of Ulster and Loch Cé is that made by their editors in the Rolls Series.

The translation of Fortescue's *Commendation of the Laws of England* is that made in the eighteenth century by Francis Grigor from the Latin original. The documents included in the Venetian and Milanese Calendars are always translated by the editors, except in a few cases in the Milanese Calendar, when a letter is printed in its original Latin. The use of one or two other translations is indicated in the head-notes to the appropriate extracts. For all other translations the editor is responsible.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES.

C.S. = Camden Society.

C.S.P. = Calendar of State Papers.

E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.

Kingsford = *Chronicles of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1904.

R.P. = *Rotuli Parliamentorum*.

R.S. = *Rolls Series*.

Rymer = *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae . . . inter Reges Angliae et alios . . .* collected by T. Rymer, 2nd edition, 1727-35.

S.R. = *Statutes of the Realm*.

BOOK I. POLITICAL.

1.

[The Duke of York lays claim to the throne in Parliament. October, 1460. "R. P." v. 375 *et seqq.*]

Memorandum, that the xvi day of Octobre, the ixth daye of this present Parlement, the Counseill of the right high and myghty Prynce Richard Duc of York, brought into the Parlement Chambre a writyng, conteignyng the clayme and title of the right, that the seid Duc pretended unto the Coronas of Englund and of Fraunce, the lordship of Ireland, and the same writyng delyvered to the Right Reverent Fader in God George Bissshop of Excestre, Chauncellor of Englund, desiryng hym that the same writyng myght be opened to the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx assembled in this present Parlement, and that the seid Duc myght have brief and expedient answeere therof: wheruppon the said Chauncellor opened and shewed the seid desire to the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, askyng the question of theym, whither they wold the seid writyng shuld be openly radde before theym or noo. To the which question it was answered and agreed by all the seid Lordes: In asmuche as every persone high and lowe, suyng to this high Court of Parlement, of right must be herd, and his desire and Petition understande, that the said writyng shuld be radde and herd, not to be answered without the Kyngs commaundement, for so moche as the mater is so high, and of soo

grete wyght and poyse: Which writyng there than was radde; the tenour wherof foloweth, in these wordes :—

[The descent of the Duke of York from Henry III through Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III, is set forth. Henry IV, son of Edward III's fourth son John of Gaunt, was a usurper.]

To the which Richard Duc of York, as sonne to Anne, doughter to Rogier Mortimer Erle of Marche, son and heire to the seid Phelippe, doughter and heire to the seid Leonell, the third gotten son of the seid Kyng Edward the third, the right, title, dignite roiall and estate, of the corones of the realmes of Englund and of Fraunce, and of the lordship and land of Ireland, of right, lawe and custume apperteyneth and belongeth, afore eny issue of the seid John of Gaunt, the fourth gotten son of the same Kyng Edward.

And afterward, the xvii day of October, the xth day of this present Parlement, the seid Chaunceller shewed and declared to the said Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx beyng in the same Parlement, howe that the Counseill of the seid Duc of York, gretely desired to have answeere of such writyng, as uppon the xvi day of October last passed was put into this present Parlement, on the behalf of the seid Duc, and theruppon asked the seid Lordes, what they thought was to be doon in that matier. To the which question it was answered and thought by all the seid Lordes, that the matier was so high and of such wyght, that it was not to eny of the Kynges Subgetts to enter into communication therof, withoute his high commaundement, agreement and assent had thereto. And ferthermore, for asmoch as the seid Duc desired and required bref and undelaied answeere of the seid writyng, and in eschuyng and avoidyng of grete and manyfold inconveniences that weren lykly to ensue, yf hasty pro-

vision of good answer in that behalf were not had, it was thought and agreed by all the Lordes, that they all shuld goo unto the Kyng, to declare and open the seid mater unto his Highnes, and to understond what his good grace wuld to be doon ferther therin. And theruppon incontynent all the seid Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx went to the Kyngs high presence, and therunto opened and declared the seid mater, by the mouth of his seid Chaunceller of Englund. And the same matier by the Kynges Highnes herd and conceyved ; It pleased hym to pray and commaunde all the seid Lordes, that they shuld serche for to fynde in asmuch as in them was, all such thyngs as myght be objecte and leyde ayenst the cleyme and title of the seid Duc. And the seid Lordes besaught the Kyng, that he wuld remember hym, yf he myght fynde any resonable mater that myght be objected ayenst the seid cleyme and title, in so moche as his seid Highnes had seen and understouden many dyvers writyngs and Cronicles. Wheruppon, on the morn the xviii day of October, the xith day of this present Parlement, the forseid Lordes sent for the Kyngs Justices into the Parlement Chambre, to have their avis and Counsell in this behalf, and there delyvered to theym the writyng of the cleyme of the seid Duc, and in the Kyngs name gave theym straitely in commaundement, sadly to take avisament therin, and to serche and fynde all such objections as myght be leyde ayenst the same, in fortifyng of the Kynges right.

Wherunto the same Justices, the Monday, the xx day of Octobre then next ensuyng, for their answer uppon the seid writyng to theym delyvered seiden, that they were the Kyngs Justices, and have to determyne such maters as com before theym in the lawe, betwene partie and partie, and in such maters as been betwene partie and partie they may not be of Counsell ; and sith this mater was betwene the Kyng and the seid Duc of York as two

parties, and also it hath not be accustomed to calle the Justices to Counseill in such maters, and in especiall the mater was so high, and touched the Kyngs high estate and regaltie, which is above the lawe and passed ther lernyng, wherfore they durst not enter into eny communication therof, for it perteyned to the Lordes of the Kyngs blode, and th' apparage of this his lond, to have communication and medle in such maters; and therefore they humble bysought all the Lordes, to have theym utterly excused of eny avyce or Counseill, by theym to be yeven in that matier.

[The lords then sent for the King's Sergeants and Attorney, and commanded them to seek for objections to the Duke's claim.]

Wherunto the seid Sergeaunts and Attourney, the Wensday than next ensuyng, answered and seiden, that the seid mater was put unto the Kynges Justices; and howe, . . . the same Justices seiden . . . that the seid mater was soo high and of soo grete wight, that it passed their lernyng, and also they durst not entre eny communication in that matier, to yeve eny avyce or Counseill therin; and sith that the seid matier was so high that it passed the lernyng of the Justices, it must nedes excede their lernyng, and also they durst not entre eny communication in that matier, and prayed and besought all the Lordes to have theym excused of yevyng eny avice or Counseill therin.

To whome it was answered, by th' avis of all the Lordes, by the seid Chaunceller, that they myght not so be excused, for they were the Kynges particuler Counseillers, and therefore they had their fees and wages. And as to that the seid Sergeaunts and Attourney seiden, that they were the Kynges Counseillers in the lawe in such things as were under his auctorite or by commission, but this mater was above his auctorite, wherein they myght not medle,

and humbly besought the said Lordes, to have theym excused of yevyng eny Counseill in that matier: And it was answered agayn, that the Lordes wuld not hold theym excused, but let the Kynges Highnes have knowleche what they said. And theruppon the seid Chaunceller remembered the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx of the seiynge and excuses of the Justices, and the seying and excuses of the Sergeaunts and Attourney, and also the grete commaundement of the Kynges Highnes . . . and . . . desired all the Lordes, that every of theym shuld sey what he cowede sey in fortifyng the Kyngs title, and in defetyng of the clayme of the seid Duc. And than it was agreed by all the Lordes, that every Lord shuld have his fredome to sey what he wuld sey, withoute eny reportyng or magre to be had for his seiying. And theruppon, after the seiying of all the Lordes, every after other, it was concluded, that the maters and articles hereunder writen, shuld be alegged and objecte ayenst the seid clayme and title of the seid Duc.

[The first objection was that the lords, and also the Duke of York, had sworn allegiance to Henry VI.]

Item, it is thought also, that it is to be called to remembraunce, the grete and notable Acts of Parlements, made in dyvers Parlements of dyvers of the Kynges Progenitours, the which Acts be sufficient and resonable to be leyde ageyn the title of the seid Duc of York: The which Acts been of moche more auctorite than eny Cronycle, and also of auctorite to defete eny manere title made to eny persone. . . .

Item, it is to be allegged ageyn the title of the seid Duc that the tyme that Kyng Herry the fourth toke uppon hym the Corone of Englund, he seid he entred and toke uppon hym the Corone, as right enheriter to Kyng Herry the third, and not as a Conquerour.

[The Duke of York answered that every man is bound to obey God's law and to observe truth and justice, and no act or oath can discharge him from this bond. The Duke's claim was grounded on truth and justice, and truth, right and justice in this matter ought to be considered, in accordance with the will of God, rather than any oath to the contrary. By the law of the Church, an oath contrary to truth is invalid. The lords ought, by the law of God and man, to assist him.]

The only act of Parliament against the Duke's title is one of the sixth year of Henry IV settling the crown on him and his heirs. Had Henry IV obtained the crown by descent and inheritance, he would not have needed or obtained this act, which is of no effect against the right inheritor according to the law of God and of nature.

Henry IV's claim to be right heir to Henry III is untrue, and was merely made to cover his usurpation.]

Item, the Saturday, the xvii day of this present Parliament, it was shewed unto the Lordes . . . that the seid Duc of York called besily, to have hasty and speddy answeare to such maters as touched his title abovesaid; and howe that for asmoche as it is thought by all the Lordes, that the title of the seid Duc can not be defeted, and in eschuyng of the grete inconvenients that may ensue, a meane was founde to save the Kyngs honour and astate, and to apease the seid Duc, yf he wuld; which is this: That the Kyng shall kepe the Coronas, and his astate and dignite Roiall, duryng his lyf; and the seid Duc and his heires to succede hym in the same: exhortyng and steryng all the seid Lordes, that yf eny of theym cowde fynde eny other or better meane, that it myght be shewed. . . . And forthwith they went towards the Kyng, where he was in his chambre within his palice of Westminster. . . .

All these premisses thus shewed and opened to the Kynges Highnes, he, inspired with the grace of the Holy Goost, and in eschuyng of effusion of Cristen blode, by good and sad deliberation and avyce had with all his Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, condescended to accord

to be made betwene hym and the seid Duc, and to be auctorized by th'auctorite of this present Parlement.

[A document embodying the Duke of York's title and the agreement arrived at was drawn up, and the Duke and his sons were to swear not to do or permit to be done anything to shorten the life or reign of Henry VI. The Duke was declared heir-apparent to the crown, and Henry IV's act of settlement was repealed.]

Memorandum, that after the agreement of the seid Acte of accord, by the Kyng and three Estates, in this present Parlement assembled: The seid Duc of York, and Erles of Marche and Rutlonde, in the Vigill of All Halowes,¹ come personelly into the Chambre of the same Parlement, before the Kyng, in the presence of the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx: and there and then, everyche of the seid Duc and Erles, severally made promesse and ooth, accordyng to the seid agrement and accord, with protestation that if the Kyng for his partie duely kept and observed the same accord, and Act theruppon made, which the Kyng at that tyme promysed so to doo: And then the seid Duc and Erles, instantly desired that this her protestation, and also the seid promesse made by the Kyng, myght be entred of Record.

2.

[The Duke of York proclaims himself Protector, and the Lancastrians concentrate their forces in the North. "Gregory's Chronicle" (C.S.), pp. 208-10.]

The kynge remevyde unto London a-gayne hys wylle, to the byschoppe ys palys of London, and the Duke of Yorke com unto hym that same nyght¹ by the torchelyght and toke a-pon hym as kyng, and sayde in many placys that thys ys owrys by very ryght. Ande thenn the quene hyrynge thys she voydyde unto Walys. . . . The lordys wolde fayne hadde hyr unto Lundon, for they

¹ 31 October.

knewe welle that alle the workyngys that were done growe by hyr, for she was more wyttyer then the kyng, and that apperythe by hys dedys, etc.

Then the Quene . . . sende unto the Duke of Somersett, at that tyme beyng in Dorset schyre at the Castelle of Corffe, and for the Erle of Devyschyre, and for Elysaundyr Hody, and prayde hem to com to hyr as hastely as they myght, with hyr tenantys as stronge in hyr harnys as men of warre, for the Lorde Rosse, the Lorde Clyfforde, the Baron of Grestocke, the Lorde Nevyle, the Lorde Latymer, were waytyng a-pon the Duke of Exceter to mete with hyr at Hulle. And thys mater was not taryd but fulle prevely i-wrought; and she sende letters unto alle hyr chyffe offycers that they wold doo the same, and that they shulde warne alle tho servantys that lovyd hyr or purposyd to kepe and rejoyse hyr offysce, to wayte a-pon hyr at Hulle by that day as hit a-poynted by hyr.

3.

[The battles of Wakefield and Mortimer's Cross, 1460-1. William Worcester, "*Annales*" (R.S.), pp. 774-6. (Latin.)]

The Earl of Northumberland, the lords of Clyfford, Dakys and Nevylle, held a council at York¹ and destroyed the tenants of the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury. And the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon, with many knights and gentlemen of the west parts, fully armed, came through Bath, Cirencester, Evesham and Coventry to York.

. . . And the Duke of York, with the Earl of Salisbury and many thousands of soldiers, started from London towards York. . . . On the twenty-first day of December the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury with six thousand fighting men, came to Sandal Castle, where they kept the

¹ November, 1460.

feast of Christmas, while the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Northumberland with the opposite party lay at Pontefract. King Henry with the Earl of Warwick and others kept the feast of Christmas in the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's. Edward Earl of March kept the feast of Christmas in the town of Shrewsbury in the house of the Friars. On the twenty-ninth day of the month of December at Wakefelde, while the Duke of York's people were wandering about the district in search of victuals, a horrible battle was fought between the said Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Neville with a great army, and the other party; where there fell on the field the Duke of York, Thomas Nevil, son of the Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Haryngtone . . . and also many other knights and squires, and two thousand of the common people. And in the flight after the battle the Lord Clyfforde killed the Lord Edmund, Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York, upon the bridge at Wakefelde. And the same night the Earl of Salisbury was taken by a servant of Andrew Trollope. And next day the Bastard of Exeter slew the said Earl of Salisbury at Pontefract, where by the counsel of the lords they beheaded the dead bodies of the Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Rutland, Thomas Nevyle . . . and set their heads upon divers parts of York. Also in contempt they crowned the head of the Duke of York with paper.

After the said battle Queen Margaret came from Scotland to York, where by the advice of the said lords there it was decided to march with all possible strength to London and take King Henry out of the hands of his enemies. . . .

On the vigil of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin¹ a battle was fought near Wigmore at Mortimer Cross,

¹ 1 February.

where the Earl of March with fifty-one thousand men attacked the Earl of Pembroke with eight thousand ; where the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Wiltshire and many others fled from the field. And Owen Tedere (father of the said Earl of Pembroke) and John Throgmerton, esquire, with eight other captains were beheaded at Herforde.

4.

[The battle of St. Albans, 17 February, 1461, and the events which followed it: (a) "Whethamstede's Register" (R.S.), pp. 388-92. (Latin.)]

[The northern men] with the Queen and Prince took their way towards the southern parts, and advanced without interruption by a good route till they came to the town and monastery of the English protomartyr Alban ; and in every place through which they came on both sides of the Trent, but especially on this side, they robbed, despoiled and devastated, and carried off with them whatever they could come upon or discover, whether garments or money, herds of cattle or single animals, or any other thing whatsoever, sparing neither churches nor clergy, monasteries nor monks, chapels nor chaplains. . . .

The northern men, coming to the town of the said protomartyr, and hearing that the King, with a great army and some of his lords, was lying near, immediately entered the said town, desiring to pass through the middle of it and direct their army against the King's army. However, they were compelled to turn back by a few archers who met them near the Great Cross, and to flee with disgrace to the west end of the town, where, entering by a lane which leads from that end northwards as far as St. Peter's Street, they had there a great fight with a certain small band of the people of the King's army. Then, after not a few had been killed on both sides, going out to the heath

called Barnet Heath, lying near the north end of the town, they had a great battle with certain large forces, perhaps four or five thousand, of the vanguards of the King's army. . . . The southern men, who were fiercer at the beginning . . . were broken very quickly afterwards, and the more quickly because looking back, they saw no one coming up from the main body of the King's army, or preparing to bring them help, whereupon they turned their backs on the northern men and fled. . . .

And the northern men seeing this . . . pursued them very swiftly on horseback ; and catching a good many of them, ran them through with their lances. . . .

[(b) " Gregory's Chronicle " (C.S.), pp. 212-15.]

And in the myddys of the batayle Kynge Harry wente unto hys Quene and for-soke alle hys lordys, ande truste better to hyr party thenne unto hys owne lordys. And thenn thoroughe grete labur the Duke of Northefolke and the Erle of Warwycke a schapyd a-waye ; the Byschoppe of Exceter, that tyme Chaunceler of Ingelond, and brother unto the Erle of Warwycke, the Lorde Bouser,¹ whythe many othyr knyghtys, squyers and comyns fledde, and many men slayne in bothe partys. . . . The lordys of Kyng Harrys party pycchyd a fylde and fortifyd hyt fulle stronge, and lyke unwyse men brake hyr raye and fyld and toke a-nothyr, and or that they were alle sette a buskyd to batayle, the Quenys parte was at hond whythe hem in towne of Synt Albons, and then alle thyng was to seke and owte of ordyr, for hyr pryckyers come not home to bryng no tydyng howe ny that the Quene was, save one come and sayd that she was ix myle of. And ar the goners and borgeners couthe levylle hyr gonnys they were besely fyghtyng, and many a gynne of wer was ordaynyd that stode in lytylle a-vayle or nought ; . . .

Ande the Kynge and Quene toke hyr jornay unto Yorke

¹ Bouchier.

wardys, for they demyde that the Northeryn men wolde have ben to creuelle in robbing yf they hadde come to London. But by the a-vyse of Docter Morton they sende certayne knyghtys and men unto London and Westmynster, but they myght not be sufferde to entery in to the towne. Ande sum of hyr mayny were slayne for hyr cursyd longege. And the mayre ordaynyd bothe brede and vytayle to be sende unto the quene, and a certayne sum of money with alle. But whenn men of London and comyns wyste that the cartysse shulde goo to the Quene, they toke the cartys and departyde the brede and vytayle a-monge the comyns. . . . But as for the mony, I wot not howe hit was departyd; I trowe the pursse stale the mony.

Then come tydyngys of the comynge of the Erle of Marche unto London; thenn alle the cytte were fayne, and thonkyd God, and sayde that

He that had London for sake
Wolde no more to hem take.

5.

[The accession of Edward IV. MS. Gough London 10, in "Six Town Chronicles," ed. R. Flenley, pp. 161-2.]

[On 28 February, 1461] the Erle of Marche and the Erle of Warwik come to london wyth a grett puisshaunce and on Sonday after¹ all the host mustred in Seynt Johannis ffelde and there was redde among theym certeyne articles and poyntys that kyng harry the VI had offended in ayenst the realme. And then it was demanded of the people whether the said harry was worthy to regne still and the peopill cried nay: and than was axed iff they wolde have the Erle of Marche to their kyng and they cryed yee: and then certeyne capitaynes went to the Erle of Marches place at Baynardis Castell and muche

¹ 1 March.

people w^t hem and tolde hym that the people had chosen hym for kyng and he thanked theym and by the advyce of the bisshop of Countorbury and Bisshop of Excestre and the Erle of Warwik w^t other graunt it to take it upon hym: and on tewesday after made cryes that all maner people shulde mete him on the morn that was the iiii day of Marche at powles at ix of the clokk and so they did: and thidder come the Erle of Marche w^t the lordis in goodly array and there went on procession thurgh the toun w^t thee letanye: and after procession doon the bisshop of Excestre Chaunceler made a sermon: and at the Ende of the Sermon he declared the Erle of Marches right and title to the crowne and demaunded the people yff they wolde have hym to her kyng as his right axed and they cryed yee: than all the people were prayed to goo w^t hym to Westmynster to see him taake his possession and so the people did: and than the Erle of Marche w^t the lordis spirituell and temporell roode thidder and whan he come at the halle he alighted and went in and so up to the chauncery and there he was Sworn afore the bisshop of Caunterbury and the Chancellor of Englund and the lordis that he shulde truly and justly kepe the realme and the lawes there of maynteyne as a true and a Juste kyng: and than they did on hym kynges roobis and the cappe of Estate and than [he] went and satt in the See as kyng: and than it was axed of the people yff they wolde have hym to kyng and hym maynteyne supporte and obeye as true kyng and the people cried yee: and then he wente thorowe the paleys to Westmynster chirche: and the abbot w^t procession boode hym in the chirche hawe w^t Seynt Edwardis Septure and there tooke it hym and so went into the Chirche and offered at the high awter w^t grett Solempnitee and after at Seynt Edwardis shryne: and than cam doune into the Quere and satt there in the see whiles Te Deum was songe solemply:

and thanne went into the paleys ayene and chaunged his array; and after com doune by water and went to poules to the paleys and there logged and dyned. And the maier and the aldremen and comons in Westminster hall besought thee kyng to be goode and gracious lorde to the cytee and to the fraunchies theroff that they myght enjoye hem as they did afore his tyme: and there he graunted hem goode lordeship and all theire fraunchises as they were graunted them and promitted to afferme them and charged the maier aldremen and comons to kepe the cytee to his behoffe and honoure.

6.

[The battle of Towton. Fragment of a chronicle printed by Hearne at the end of "Sprott's Chronicle," pp. 286-7.]

The viage determynid by the nw elect King, Edward the IIIIth of the name, to folowe his ennemyes, King Harry the Sixte and his Queene, northward; first, on the morow,¹ John Duke of Norfolke went in to his countrey with all diligence to prepaire for the warre on the party of King Edward. And on the Saturday next folowing, the Erle of Warwick with a grete band of men departid oute of London northwarde; where as on the Wednisday next folowing the Kinges footmen [assembled] in a grete numbre, of the which the moost parte were Wallsshmen and Kentisshmen. Then the Fryday enswing, the King Edward isswid out of the cite in goodely ordre, at Busshoppisgate, then being the XIIth day of Marche, and helde on his journayis, folowing thois othir; and when the fore prickers cam to Ferrybrigghe thiere was a grete skarmusshe, where as John Ratcliff, then Lorde Fitzwatir, was slayne; and theruppon they ever avaunced theime self til thay cam to Towton, viii myles owte of Yorke, upon

¹ I.e. of Edward's assumption of the throne on 4 March.

a Friday at night, abyding the residw of theire cumpany, the which were assemblid in goode ordre on the Saturday, then being Palmesondayis evin¹: and aboute iiij of the klokke att night the ii batailes joynid, and faught all night, till on the morow att aftir noone, when aboute the noone, the forsaide John Duke of Northfolke, with a fressh band of goode men of warre, cam in to the ayde of the new electe King E[dward]. This feelde was sore foughten. For there were slayne on bothe partyes xxxiii M^l. men, and all the season it snew. There were slayne therlis of Northumberland and Westmerland,² with othir, and Sir Andrew Troloppe; and takin, therlis of Devinshire and Wiltshire, and behedid there: and the deposid King Harry, his Queene, with Harry Duke of Somersett and othir, in grete hast fledde in to Scotland.

7.

[Extracts from "The Rose of Rouen". Edward IV was so called because he was born at Rouen. "Archæologia," xxix., 344-7.]

Be-twix Cristmas and Candelmas, a litel before the Lent,
Alle the lordes of the northe thei wrought by oon assent;
For to stroy the sowthe cuntre thei did alle hur entent,
Had not the Rose of Rone be, al Englonde had be shent.³
I-blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure!

Upon a Shrof Tuesday, on a grene leede,⁴
Be-twix Sandricche and Saynt Albons many man gan
blede;
On an Aswedynsday we levid in mykel drede,
Than cam the Rose of Rone downe, to halp us at oure
nede.
Blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure!

¹ 28 March. ² Really Westmorland's brother, Lord John Neville.

³ Ruined, disgraced.

⁴ Plain.

The northe[r]n men made her bost, whan thei had done
that dede,

“ We wol dwelle in the southe cuntrey, and take al that
we nede ;

These wifes and hur doughters, oure purpose shal thei
spede,”—

Than seid the Rose of Rone, “ Nay, that werk shal I for-
bede ”.

Blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure !

For to save al Englonde the Rose did his entent,
With Calays and with Londone, with Essex and with
Kent ;

And al the southe of Englonde, unto the watyr of Trent,
And whan he saw the tyme best, the Rose from London
went.

Blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure !

The way into the northe cuntre the Rose ful fast he sought,
With hym went the Ragged Staf,¹ that many man dere
bought ;

So than did the White Lyon,² ful worthely he wrought,
Almighti Jhesu blesse his soule, that tho armes ought !
And blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure !

The Fisshe Hoke³ cam into the felde, with ful egre mode,
So did the Cornysse Chowghe,⁴ and brought forthe alle
hir brode ;

Ther was the Blak Ragged Staf,⁵ that is bothe trewe and
goode,

The Brideld Horse, the Watyr Bouge⁶ by the Horse stode.
Blessid be the tyme, that ever God spred that floure !

¹ The Earl of Warwick.

² The Duke of Norfolk.

³ Lord Fauconberg.

⁴ Probably John, Lord Scrope of Bolton.

⁵ Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin.

⁶ Probably Henry, Viscount Bouchier.

. . . The Wolf cam fro Worcetre, ful sore he thought to
byte,
The Dragon cam fro Glowcestre, he bent his tayle to
smyte ;
The Griffon cam fro Leycestre, fleyng in as teyte,
The George cam fro Notyngham, with spere for to fyte.
Blessid be the tyme, that ever God spred that floure !

. . . The northen party made hem strong with spere and
with shelde,
On Palmesonday, affter the none, thei met us in the felde ;
With in an owre thei were right fayne to fle, and eke to
yelde,
xxvii thousand the Rose kyld in the felde.
Blessid be the tyme, that ever God spred that floure !

The Rose wan the victorie, the feld, and also the chace,
Now may the housband in the southe dwelle in his owne
place ;
His wif and eke his faire doughtre, and al the goode he has,
Soche menys hath the Rose made, by vertu and by grace,
Blessid be the tyme, that ever God sprad that floure !

The Rose cam to London full ryally rydyng,
ii erchebisshops of England thei crouned the Rose kyng ;
Almighti Jhesu save the Rose, and geve hym his blessing,
And al the reme of England ioy of his crownynge,
That we may blesse the tyme, that ever God sprad that
floure !

Amen, pur charite.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French Court to the Duke of Milan, 18 April, 1461. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 91.]

The reputation of Edward and Warwick is great owing to their good conduct, and their popularity from having conquered is enormous. To-morrow they say two younger brothers of March, son of the Duke of York, are coming here, and the Duke of Burgundy has given notice for great honours to be shown to them. . . .

If the King and Queen of England with the other fugitives mentioned above are not taken, it seems certain that in time fresh disturbances will arise, nor are the people disinclined to these, since the storm falls equally on the heads of the princes as on their own, and the less nobles there are the better they are pleased, and think that they are nearer a chance for liberty; and from what I have been told the people of London have great aspirations.

If, however, they are taken, then that kingdom may be considered settled and quiet under King Edward and the Earl of Warwick; and then, as they are well affected to the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, it seems likely, both from the unexpected things that the King of France has done to the Duke of Burgundy, as well as out of respect for the Dauphin, who considers that things cannot continue thus, that they will pursue the plan to pass to France, especially if the Dauphin did not happen to be in accord with the King of France. . . .

I have observed the great importance that the Duke of Burgundy attaches to England. Thus he has kept in with the Earl of Warwick, and his son with the Queen of England, so that whatever happens England will have friendship in the house of the Duke of Burgundy.

9.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 2 June, 1461. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 109.]

King Henry, the queen, their son, the Duke of Somerset and Lord Ros, his brother,¹ have taken refuge in Scotland. It is said that they are negotiating for a marriage alliance between the sister of the late King of Scotland and the Prince of Wales. . . . They also say that King Henry has given away a castle called Berwick, which is one of the keys of the frontier between England and Scotland. This place is said to have anciently belonged to Scotland of right, and was occupied by England a long time ago by superior force.

The force of 20,000 Frenchmen has left Normandy and gone to England. . . . It is said that they have taken the route outside the island in the Gulf of Bristol and accordingly it is thought to assemble the people of Wales, who are said to love the Queen. Nevertheless, Bristol is a strong city, and for coasting along the island from thence towards Scotland, it is not easy to navigate any vessels besides the small ships for transit of the country, owing to a tide that lasts six hours. Accordingly it is thought that they cannot get any nearer to Scotland from that direction. In the direction of the strait of Dover and Calais, which is eighteen miles [? wide], Warwick is said to have a fleet, not so much to give battle to the French one in the open sea, but merely to prevent them from landing in the island and to guard that passage.

Owing to the favour and kinship of the Scots and this strong encouragement from the French, they are afraid here that there may be some attack and battle. . . . In any case, King Edward and Warwick have the whole of

¹ Probably a mistake for the brother of Lord Ros; Ros was not Somerset's brother.

the island and kingdom in their power, and are attending to such provisions as are necessary. King Edward is at present going to London, I fancy in order to make arrangements for consolidating the kingdom and to strengthen himself against the dangers which may crop up. It is true, most illustrious lord, that these English have not the slightest form of government, unless they have it in some leader, and this they have in King Edward and the Earl of Warwick.

[Extract from a letter from the same to the same, dated 6 June, 1461.
C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 110.]

We hear by letters of merchants of London to those here how the fleet of the French has struck at the coast of Cornwall. It did some damage by pillage and burning, and then sailed back towards Normandy, as they were short of eighteen berton, which had not joined the fleet up to that moment.

10.

[Letter, dated 31 July, 1461, from a member of the Milanese embassy in England to the Duke of Milan. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 117.]

The king yesterday rode to a castle of his called Windsor for hunting; we shall go there to-morrow. The king's desires seem to me to be directed towards having some sort of pleasure. It is true that he tries to afford every kind of pleasure that he can to the earl [of Warwick] both festivities of ladies and hunting. . . . They say that every day favours the Earl of Warwick, who seems to me to be everything in this kingdom, and as if anything lacked, he has made a brother of his, the archbishop, Lord Chancellor of England.

11.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador to England, at Bruges, to the Duke of Milan, 30 August, 1461. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 120.]

I have returned from England . . . I was well received, and as much honour as possible was done me by the King and the lords and gentlemen of his court. All the Italian merchants in London who came to visit me, Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines, told me that at no time was so much honour paid to any embassy. King Edward loves you as if you were his father. . . . On my departure he came from London as far as Sandwich, the passage seaport, a distance of seventy miles, visiting on the way his towns, whose inhabitants bear him so much love, that they adore him like a God, so that his affairs proceed daily from good to better. The lords adherent to King Henry are all quitting him, and come to tender obedience to this King.

12.

[Letter from Margaret Paston to John Paston, 7 January, 1462.
"Paston Letters," II, 82-3.]

Pepyll in this contre begynnyth to wax wyld, and it is seyde her that my Lord of Clarans and the Dwek of Suthfolk and serteyn jwgys with hem schold come downe and syt on syche pepyll as be noysyd ryotous in thys contre. And also it is seyde here, that there is retornyde a newe rescwe up on that that was do at the scher. I suppose swyche talkynge comyth of false schrewys that wold mak a rwmor in this contre. The pepyll seyth here that they had levyr go up hole to the Kynge and compleyne of siche false screwys as they have be wrongyd by a fore, than they schold be compleynyde of with owt cause and be hangyd at ther owne dorys. In good feyth men fere

sore here of a comone rysyng but if¹ a bettyr remedy may be had to a pese the pepyll in hast, and that ther be sent swyche downe to tak a rewyll as the pepyll hathe a fantsy in, that wole be indeferent. They love not in no wyse the Dwke of Sowthfolk nor hys modyr. They sey that all the tretourys and extorsyonerys of thys contre be meyntheynd by them and by syche as they get to them with her goodys, to that intent to meynnten suche extorsyon style as hathe be do by suche as hathe had the rewyll undyr them be fore tyme. Men wene, and the Dwke of Sowthfolk come ther scholl be a schrewd reuell but if² ther come odyr that be bettyr belovyd than he is here. The pepyll feryth hem myche the more to be hurt, because that ye and my cosyn Barney come not home; they sey they wot welle it is not well with yow and if it be not well with yow, they that wole do yow wronge wole sone do them wronge, and that makyth them all most mad. God for Hys holy mersy geve grace that ther may be set a good rewyll and a sad in this contre in hast, for I herd nevyr sey of so myche robry and manslawter in thys contre as is now within a lytyll tyme. And as for gadyryng of mony, I sey nevyr a werse seson, for Rychard Calle seyth he can get but lytyll in substans of that is owyng, nowthyr of yowyr lyvelod nor of Fastolfys th'eyr. And John Paston seyth, they that may pay best they pay werst; they fare as thow they hopyd to have a newe werd.³

13.

[Queen Margaret's invasion of England, 1462-3. Kingsford, pp. 177-8.]

In this yere, the third day of November, Quene Margaret came owte of ffraunce in to Scotland with a strength of people; and so entred into England and made opyn warr. Then the kyng went Northward with a grete people; and

¹ Unless.² *Ibid.*³ World.

the xiii day of Novembre the Quene, heryng of his comyng with his greate Oste, anoon brake her feeld and fled. And in a kervyle, wheryn was the substaunce of her goodes, she fled; and as she sailed ther came upon her suche a tempeste that she was fayne to leve the kervyll and take a ffysshers bote, and so went a lond to Berwyk; and the said kervyll and goodes were drowned. And the same day CCCC of ffrenshemen or ther abowte beyng of her Oste, were dryven a lond aboute Branborgh; wher as when they sawe they myght not have away their Shippis for the Tempest, they set fier in theym and brent theym, and so went into an Ile-land of Northumberland, wher they were encountred with one Maners, a Squyer, and the Bastard of Ogill with CC men, which slewe and took prisoners the said CCCC ffrenshemen. And when the kyng had knowledge of hir departur, he entended to have pursued to have taken hir: but then it fortun-ed hym to be visited with the Sykenesse of masyls, where thurgh his purpose was letted. And upon the xiith day in Crystemasse the Scottes cam to Rescue the Castell of Awnewyke, but it was yolden to the kyng or they cam. And abowte the same season the Castelles of Branbourgh and Dunstan-
burgh were yolden to the kyng also. And the Duke of Somyrset and Sir Raaf Percy submytted theym to the kynges grace, whom the kyng admytted to his grace. And abowte Shrovetide the kyng came Sowthward.

14.

[The war in the North, 1463-4. "Gregory's Chronicle" (C.S.), pp. 219 *et seqq.*]

Bamborowe and Dunsterborowe were yoldyn be Syr Raffe Percy and Syr Harry Beuford, late Duke of Somerset, to the Kyngys wylle, whythe the condyscyons that the sayde Raffe Percy schulde have the keypyng of the ii castellys. . . . The sayde Syr Raffe Percy and Syr Harry

Beuforde, late Duke of Somersett, were sworne to be trewe and faythefull as trewe lege men unto owre kyng and soverayne lorde Edwarde the IIII^{the}.

But within schorte tyme aftyr the sayde Syr Raffe Percy by fals colyson and treson he lete the Fraynysche men take the Castelle of Bamborowe fro hym *nolens volo*. . . . And thenne aftyr that come Kyng Harry that was, and the Quene to the Kyng of Schottys, Syr Perys de Brasylle,¹ with iiij^{xx} M^l. Schottys, and layde a sege unto the Castelle of Norham, and lay there xviii dayes. And thenn my lorde of Warwycke and hys brother the Lorde Montegewe put them in devyr to rescuwe the sayde Castelle of Norham, and soo they dyd, and put bothe Kyng Harry and the Kyng of Schotys to flyghte. And Quene Margarete whythe alle hir consayle, and Syr Perys de Brasey whythe the Fraynysche men, fledde a-wey by water with iiij balynggarys; and they londyd at the Scluse in Flaundyr, and lefte Kyng Harry that was be hynde hem, and alle hyr hors and hyr harneys, they were so hastyd by my lorde of Warwycke. . . .

Thenn the Kyng Edwarde the IIII purposyd to make an arme into Schotlonde by londe and by water. . . . And thenn was ordayned a grete navy and a grete armye bothe by watyr and by lond. And alle was loste and in vayne, and cam too noo purposse, neyther by water ne by londe. . . .

And thys same yere a-boute Crystysmas the fals Duke of Somersett, with owte any leve of the kyng, stale owte of Walys with a prevy mayny towarde the Newecastelle, for he and hys men were confeteryde for to have be-trayde the sayde Newecastelle. And in the wey thedyrwarde he was aspyde, and lyke to have ben takyn be syde Dereham in hys bedde. Notwithstondynge he aschapyde, a-way in hys schyrt and barefote. . . . And whenn that hys men

¹ De Brézé.

knewe that he was aschapyd, and hys fals treson aspyde, hys men stale from the Newecastelle as very fals traytourys, and sum of hem were take and lost hyr heddys for hyr labur, etc.

And thenn the kynge . . . sende a grete feleschippe of hys housolde men to kepe the towne of Newecastelle, . . . and soo they kepte hyt surely alle that wyntyre. Ande aboute Ester nexte aftyr the Schottys sewyd unto our soverayne lorde the kynge for pes. And the kynge ordayne commyssourys to mete whythe the Schottys. . . .

The poyntement was that they Schottys and they shulde mete at Yorke. And thenn was my lorde of Mountegeue assygnyd to fecche yn the Schottys pesseably. . . . Ande in the wey thedyrwarde there met with hym that fals Duke of Somersette, Syr Raffe Percy, the Lorde Hungerforde, and the Lorde Roos, whythe alle hyr company, to the nombyr of v M^l. men of armys. And thys metynge¹ was a pon Synte Markys day²; and that same day was Syr Raffe Percy slayne. And whenn that he was dede alle the party was schomfytyd and put to rebuke. Ande every man avoydyd and toke hys way with fulle sory hertys. And thenn my lorde of Mountegeue toke hys hors and roode to Norham, and fecchyd yn the Schottys, and brought hem unto the lordys commysyonourys. And there was concludyd a pes of xv yere. . . .

Ande the xiiii daye of May nexte aftyr, my lorde of Mountegeue toke hys jornaye toward Hexham from the Newecastelle. And there he toke that fals Duke Harry Beuford of Somersett, the Lord Roos, the Lorde Hungerforde, Syr Pylippe Wenteworthe, Syr Thomas Fyndorne, whythe many othyr.

¹ I.e. the battle of Hedgeley Moor.

² 25 April.

15.

[Anglo-French negotiations. Extract from instructions to ambassadors sent by the Duke of Brittany to certain French nobles, August, 1464. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 134.]

The king [of France], the better to further his enterprise against the duke [of Brittany] . . . has made a promise to the English, in order to have a truce, peace or a league with them, and to give them one of the duchies of Normandy or Guienne, or a part thereof; and he has asked help of the King of England to conquer the lordships of some of the said lords of his realm [to whom this embassy is sent], in order to make up his own dominions by so much as he offered to give to the English.

To give colour to the conduct of his enterprise the king decided to negotiate the marriage of his eldest daughter to King Edward's brother, the terms being that King Edward should give his brother the duchy of Clarence, and the king should give his said daughter one of the said duchies of Guienne or Normandy or some portion thereof. In return for this King Edward was to promise the king to help him conquer the Duchy of Brittany, and some other lordships. . . . It is a very strange thing, and might be the cause of rousing all France against the king, if the thing was really carried out, considering the lives of so many notable men which the kingdom has lost in recovering what the English held so long by force.

16.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 6 February, 1465. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 142.]

The Queen, wife of King Henry, has written to the king here that she is advised that King Edward and the

Earl of Warwick have come to very great division and war together. She begs the King here to be pleased to give her help so that she may be able to recover her kingdom or at least allow her to receive assistance from the lords of this kingdom. . . . The king remarked, Look how proudly she writes.

17.

[The marriage of Edward IV, 1465. "Warkworth's Chronicle" (C.S.), pp. 3-4.]

Also the iiiie yere of Kynge Edward, the Erle of Warwyke was sent into Fraunce for a maryage for the Kynge, for one fayre ladye, suster-doughtere to the Kynge of Fraunce, whiche was concludede by the Erle of Warwyke. And whiles the seyde Erle of Warwyke was in Fraunce, the Kynge was wedded to Elisabeth Gray, wedow, the qwiche Sere Jhon Gray that was hyre housbonde was slayne at Yorke felde in Kinge Herry partye; and the same Elisabeth was doughtere to the Lorde Ryvers; and the weddyng was prevely in a secrete place, the fyrste day of Maye the yere above seide. And when the Erle of Warwyke come home and herde hereof, thenne was he gretely displeyd withe the Kyng; and after that rose grete discencyone evere more and more betwene the Kyng and hym, for that and other, etc. And thenne the Kyng put oute of the Chaunceler-schepp the Bysshope of Excetre, brother to the Erle of Warwyke, and made the Bysshope of Bathe Chaunceler of Englonde. After that the Erle of Warwyke toke to hyme in fee as many knyghtys, squyers and gentylmenne as he myght, to be stronge; and Kyng Edwarde dide that he myght to feble the Erles powere. And yett thei were acorded diverse tymes; but thei nevere loffyd togedere aftere.

18.

[The capture of Henry VI, 1465. "Warkworth's Chronicle"
(C.S.), p. 5.]

Also in the same yere, Kyng Herry was taken bysyde a howse of religione in Lancaschyre, by the mene of a blacke monke of Abyngtone, in a wode called Cletherwode, besyde Bungere Hypppyngstones, by Thomas Talbott, sonne and heyre to Sere Edmunde Talbot of Basshalle, and Jhon Talbott his cosyne of Colebry, withe other moo; whiche disseyvide, beyngne at his dynere at Wadyngtone Halle, and caryed to Londone on horse bake, and his lege bownde to the styrope, and so brought thurgh Londone to the Toure, where he was kepte longe tyme by two squyres and ii yomen of the crowne, and ther menne; and every manne was suffred to come and speke withe hym, by licence of the kepers.

19.

[Treaty between Edward IV and King Henry IV of Castile, August, 1466. Rymer, xi, 569-71. From the French Roll. (Latin.)]

Since in this disturbed condition and most grievous misfortune of Holy Mother Church, which is daily afflicted in miserable wise by the fury and madness of the unbelievers, so that she seems to cry for succour with a loud voice to Christian princes, there appears to be no more suitable or convenient remedy to destroy the power of the enemies of the faith . . . than that Christian kings and princes should unite their powers, and arrange peace and concord, and mutually bind themselves together by a perpetual treaty of friendship and bond of love . . .

We, therefore, Edward, King of England and of France and lord of Ireland, diligently considering the premises, and the connection and nearness of blood which there is between us and the most illustrious prince our dearest cousin Henry

King of Castile and Leon, and in addition desiring as far as we can to amend and renew those ancient treaties and old friendships made long ago between our progenitors of famous memory the kings of England and the kings of Castile and Leon, which lately by the wickedness of the times are said to have been broken and violated in many ways . . . have made . . . a certain real and perpetual peace, friendship, alliance and confederation for us, our heirs and successors, realms, lands, dominions and subjects present and future, with the aforesaid most illustrious prince the lord King Henry.

[Provision for mutual help against enemies if necessary. If the King of Castile or his successors ask for English help, they shall have it upon paying the expenses of the men-at-arms and archers sent. Castile was in rebellion against the King at this time.]

Also, it is agreed and concluded that merchants and other subjects of the aforesaid lord King Henry shall and may buy and sell any merchandise or thing whatsoever, freely and without hindrance, in our kingdoms, lands and dominions, and that they shall be treated and held . . . as far as hospitality, usual payments and customs and rights whatsoever are concerned, in all things and by all persons, as if they were natives, and our proper and natural subjects.

20.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan, giving an account of a conversation between Louis XI and Duke John of Calabria, Queen Margaret's brother. 14 February, 1467. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 146.]

When they went on to speak of the Earl of Warwick, the duke angrily rejoined that he was a traitor; he would not say or suffer any good to be said of him; he only studied to deceive, he was the enemy and the cause of

the fall of King Henry and his sister the Queen of England. His Majesty would do better to help his sister to recover her kingdom than to favour the Earl of Warwick, and many other exaggerated and approbrious words.

His Majesty replied that he had more reason to speak well of the Earl of Warwick than of many others, not excepting his own relations, as the earl had always been a friend to his crown and had advised against making war on this realm. King Henry, on the other hand, had been a mortal enemy and had waged many wars against him, and therefore this friendship is worth preserving.

As the king persisted in his praise of the Earl of Warwick, the duke said that as he was so fond of him he ought to try and restore his sister in that kingdom, when he would make sure of it as much as he was sure at present and even more so.

The king asked what security they would give or if they would offer the queen's son as a hostage. This boy, though only thirteen years of age, already talks of nothing but of cutting off heads or making war, as if he had everything in his hands or was the god of battle or the peaceful occupant of that throne.

21.

[Anglo-French relations. Letter from the Milanese ambassadors at the French Court to the Duke of Milan, 18 April, 1467. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 149.]

[The French king] had and still has a secret understanding with King Edward of England by means of the Earl of Warwick, and they have arranged that between this and the 8th of May next the said earl shall be with his Majesty. . . .

They have already agreed for the most part, in this manner, that King Edward and the King of France henceforth and for ever become brothers in arms, and will live

as brothers together, making perpetual peace between the realms of England and France. King Edward will yield, quit and renounce all rights, actions and claims which belong to him, and which pertain or may pertain upon the kingdom of France. His Majesty will give his second daughter to the second brother of King Edward, to wife, because the first is married to the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, giving them as dowry a part of the territory of the Duke of Burgundy and of Charolais, upon whom they have agreed to wage a war of extermination, dividing the state of those lords between them. Thus, King Edward is to have the lordship of Holland, Zeeland and Brabant for his brother aforesaid. . . . The better to prevent Charolais from having any dealings with the English, . . . as he was trying to have King Edward's sister in marriage, they are negotiating to give her to Philip of Savoy. . . . Once this arrangement is concluded they say that on the day following the agreement they will begin war on the said lords of Burgundy, who with such effrontery have sought to drive out his Majesty.

22.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassadors at the French Court to the Duke of Milan, 19 May, 1467. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 151.]

There is a fresh report that M. Charolais has again opened secret negotiations to take King Edward's sister to wife, confirming once more the old league with the English. If this takes place, they have talked of treating with the Earl of Warwick to restore King Henry in England, and the ambassador of the old queen of England is already here.

23.

[Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French Court to the Duke of Milan, 12 September, 1467. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 154.]

The king's ambassadors have lately returned from England and as the Earl of Warwick met with many opponents to his plan, they found him unable to effect what he had promised on his departure. They therefore returned without any positive arrangement, nor are matters adjusted between the King of England, who seems very averse to France, and Warwick; they are constantly at strife. The Welshmen have taken up arms against King Edward, and proclaim Henry, whose next brother¹ [Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke] late resident here, is going over there, and the late queen is sending him some of her followers to make their party take the field if possible. King Louis complains bitterly that the Earl of Warwick has made so many promises without fulfilling anything. According to report, the earl has retired to his estates to raise troops.

24.

[The Earl of Warwick's popularity. Stow, "Annales," ed. 1631, p. 421. Stow has copied this passage from the Great Chronicle of London, ff. 179b-180.]

This yeere, [1468] many murmurous tales ranne in the City, betweene the Earle of Warwicke and the Queenes blood, the which Earle was ever had in great favour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding household which hee daily kept in all countries where ever he sojournied, or lay; and when hee came to London, hee held such an house, that sixe Oxen were eaten at a breakefast, and every Taverne was full of his meate, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, hee should have

¹ Henry's half brother.

had as much sodden and rost, as he might carry upon a long dagger.

25.

[Letter from Sir William Monypeny, the French ambassador to England, to Louis XI, appended to Waurin, "Cronicques," ed. Dupont, III, 186-95, 16 January, 1468. (French.)]

Sire, master Robert Neville and I landed at Sandwich in England the Thursday before Christmas, for the wind was so strongly contrary to us that we could not go by sea to the place where my lord of Warwick was; and from there we took our way to London, where we found the council of my said lord of Warwick. . . . They asked me if it was true that an embassy from Burgundy had gone to you and your brother. I said yes, that I had seen at Honfleur monsieur Olivier de la Marche and others of the council of the said Duke of Burgundy. They replied that it was the best news they could have for the good of my said lord of Warwick. . . . Also they said they had heard that there was much talk of a marriage between one of my ladies your daughters and the Prince of Wales: about which everybody here was as alarmed as people could be; saying in all the London taverns and throughout the country that those traitors ought to be beheaded who had advised their king to neglect to make any arrangement with you and to ally with the Duke of Burgundy.

Also, sire, by their advice, I went to the place where the King was: who, immediately I arrived, sent to ask me to speak with him, and asked me for news of you, enquiring if I had any letters addressed to him.

With regard to news, I answered that, thanks be to God, the King was in great prosperity . . . and that I had left you as well accompanied with lords and men-at-arms as ever a King of France was.

As regards letters, I answered that none had been sent addressed to him. . . . He enquired if any had been sent addressed to my lord of Warwick : I said yes. He asked me if anything was known of their contents : I said that I thought nothing, except that you were greatly surprised that he had not sent to you concerning the answer that he ought to give upon the proposal of your last embassy, seeing that he had sent you word by your ambassadors and also by letters that he would speedily send an embassy to you to answer you upon that proposal.

He answered that it was his intention to send someone to you soon, with the advice of his Council and of my said lord of Warwick, to treat with you : . . . he told me . . . in the presence of his chamberlain and Lord Scales and five or six others, that he would aid you against your brother. . . . As far as I can hear, it seems to me that he is not very sure of any of the promises made to him by lords of your kingdom, the more so since my said lord of Burgundy has informed him by a secretary of his who came after I arrived, that, concerning the conclusion of the marriage of the said Duke of Burgundy and the sister of the said King, he would give him a full answer at the end of the present month, when his embassy to the Pope should have returned, saying that he was greatly harmed touching the dispensation at the court of Rome.

Sire, if any way can be found with the Pope to defer the said dispensation for the said marriage, I have no doubt at all that, with God's will, you will set the whole of this kingdom of England against the said Duke of Burgundy ; for they will think that all that he does is only dissimulation, and in this way you will destroy all those here who have held to his party. Sire, it seems to me, under correction, that you should, by such means as seem good to you, carry on negotiations with my said lord of Burgundy, without concluding anything. . . .

Also, sire, on the morrow of the Three Kings,¹ the King of England sent a messenger to my said lord of Warwick and commanded him to come to him, to which, after long deliberation of his council, he replied shortly that he would not go. . . .

Also, sire, on New Year's Day, a party of the commons of Kent rose and went to a place which the Treasurer, father of the Queen, holds in the said county of Kent, and threw down his parks and killed the deer that he had there; . . . Also, in another county, named "Surforchier,"² there have risen full three hundred archers and have made a captain like Robin [of Redesdale?] and have sent to my lord of Warwick to know if it is time to act, and that all their neighbours were ready. He has commanded them to return home, and that it is not yet time to act but that he will let them know when there is need of it.

Also, sire, my lord of Warwick keeps master Robert Neville with him until he has spoken and arranged with his brother the Earl of Northumberland . . . and afterwards he will send him to you in all haste . . . but do not cease to negotiate with my lord of Burgundy and to hinder the marriage as far as you can. And when that is broken off, there will not be a woman or child in England who will not attack him. . . .

Also, sire, the Duke of Brittany has lately sent here to the King of England, offering him fourteen or fifteen places which he said he had taken from you in the duchy of Normandy, on condition, however, that three thousand archers should be sent to him to aid him and defend the said places and his country.

Also, sire, my lord of Warwick leaves to-morrow . . . for the Scottish frontier, where his brother the Earl of Northumberland and all the men of the frontier will

¹ 7 January.

² South Yorkshire?

come to him, and he intends, if the King comes northward, to defend himself against him. It is a question of who is to be master and who servant . . . and upon my soul I think there is no man in this world more loyal to you than he has been.

26.

[Defensive alliances. The breach between the King and Warwick was steadily widening, and Edward's policy was becoming correspondingly more hostile to France. In 1468 he allied with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, both enemies of the French King and in league with his rebellious brother the Duke of Berri. Each of these alliances was accompanied by a commercial treaty (*infra*, pp. 203-6). (a) The alliance with Burgundy, 24 February, 1468. Rymer, XI, 615. (Latin.)]

Charles by the grace of God Duke of Burgundy. . . . Since there was discussion between . . . ambassadors of the most illustrious . . . lord Edward, by the grace of God King of England and lord of Ireland, and some of our councillors, in considering the arrangement of the marriage between us and the most illustrious lady Margaret, sister of the aforesaid king our cousin, among other things, concerning the giving of mutual aid for the defence and safeguard of countries and dominions, and the making of authentic letters thereupon.

Hence it is that, willing that the aforesaid discussion may be made effectual, we offer and promise . . . to protect and defend for ever, to our power, the realm of England and the lands and dominions of the King and his successors.

[(b) The alliance with Brittany, 23 March, 1468. *Ibid.* From the French Roll. (French.)]

Edward by the grace of God King of England and of France and lord of Ireland, to all those who shall see these present letters, greeting. We let you know that we

have taken and made . . . alliance and intelligence with the high and mighty prince. . . . Francis Duke of Brittany, by which we have promised . . . to be to him, from this day forward, a good and loyal friend, to guard his estate and person against all men, and not to aid any of his enemies against him.

27.

[Louis XI's efforts to prevent the marriage of Margaret and the Duke of Burgundy by getting the Pope to refuse the dispensation necessary because of their relationship. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the Papal court to the Duke of Milan, 21 April, 1468. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 159.]

I have offered assistance to Master Olivero, ambassador of the King of France, to prevent the dispensation between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England from being accorded. I also offered, if my efforts did not suffice, to bring in the other ambassadors of our most serene league.

28.

[Edward IV's project to allay discontent and unrest by a foreign war. Extract from the Chancellor's speech to Parliament, 17 May, 1468. R.P., V, 622-3. The treaties and alliances which the King had made with Castile, Denmark, the Hanse, Scotland, Naples, Burgundy and Brittany were mentioned.]

And all these labours and matiers he had used and done at his propre charge, as meanes to a principall entent, that is to sey, to mynnyssh and lesse the power of his olde and auncient adversary of Fraunce, the Frensshe Kyng, whereby his seid Highnes shuld mowe the lightlyer and rather recovere his right and title to the crowne and londe of Fraunce, and possession of the same. Wherefore his seid Highnes was fully sette and purposed, with the myght and helpe of Allmyghty God, and with advis and assistens of his Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, and also

of the Common of this londe, to procede and perfourme his seid principall entent, for the defence of this londe, that is to sey, to goo over the see into Fraunce, and to subdue his grete rebell and adversary Lowes, usurpaunt kyng of the same, and to recovere and enjoy the title and possession of the seid reame of Fraunce forthwith, his duchies and lordships of Normandie, Gascoyn, Guysen, and other; and to that ende and purpose, his Highnes is dailly called uppon, and also writen and send unto by outward princes, as the Duke of Burgoyne . . . and the Duke of Bretayn, and other, seiying and promittying that and he wold come and procede unto the recovere of his seid right and title, they wold goo and labour with hym in their owne persones, for the recovere of the same, at their costes and expenses; for they sey and certifie dailly unto the Kynges Highnesse, that in their conceytes, there was never noon of the Kynges progenitours or predecessours that ever had such a convenient season for the recovere thereof as he then had, yf it were used in tyme. . . . Consideryng also the disposition of the people of this lond, howe that they must be occupied, and also that the disposition and extent of his seid adversary was to londe, and entre this reame. . . . These causes and thinges, and meny other, moeved the Kynges Highnes . . . to procede and folowe the recovere of his reame of Fraunce, and lordships be yonde the see, for the wele, suerte, peas and defence of this lond, with the grace of God.

29.

[Reasons for the marriage of Charles of Burgundy and Margaret of England. (a) Waurin, "Cronicques," ed. Dupont, II, 368. (French.)]

The last day but one of June in the year 'sixty-eight, Margaret, sister of King Edward of England, arrived at the port of Sluys in Flanders; and she was married to

duke Charles of Burgundy, notwithstanding the objections or hindrances that the King of France would have liked to interpose, for he had striven with all his might to make alliance with the English, to strive to destroy this duke of Burgundy, as it was commonly said : and the king had proceeded in such wise that he had on his side the Earl of Warwick, who was favoured by almost all the commons of England : and he made them think that, if the Duke of Burgundy had not made this alliance with King Edward's sister, that he would have had against him, both at once, the kingdoms of France and England, so that, in order to avoid such great dangers, the duke had consented to make this marriage.

[(b) De Comines, "*Mémoires*," ed. Dupont, I, 230.]

I have spoken elsewhere of the reasons which moved the Duke of Burgundy to marry the sister of King Edward, which was chiefly to strengthen himself against the King [of France]: for otherwise he would never have done it, because of the great love he bore to the house of Lancaster, to which he was closely related through his mother (who was a daughter of Portugal ; but her mother was daughter of the Duke of Lancaster) ; and just as much as he perfectly loved this said house of Lancaster, he hated that of York. Now at the time of this marriage, that of Lancaster was totally destroyed and there was no further talk of that of York : for King Edward was king and duke of York, and was entirely peaceful : and during the wars of these two houses, there had been in England seven or eight great battles, and cruel death of sixty or eighty princes and lords of the royal houses, as I have said before in these memoirs : and those who were not dead were fugitives in the house of the said Duke of Burgundy, all young lords, for their fathers had died in England : and the Duke of Burgundy had received them into his house,

as his relations of Lancaster, before the marriage. And I saw them in such great poverty, before the said Duke had knowledge of them, that those who ask alms are not so poor; for I have seen a Duke of Exeter go on foot without stockings, after the said Duke's train, begging his bread from house to house, without telling his name. He was the nearest relative of the house of Lancaster: and had married King Edward's sister. Afterwards he was known, and had a little house to maintain himself. The Duke of Somerset and others were there. All have died since in these battles. Their fathers and relatives pillaged and destroyed the realm of France, and possessed the greater part of it for many years; they have all killed each other. Those who were alive in England, and their children, have ended as you see.

30.

[The Lancastrians in Wales, 1468, and the fall of their last stronghold.
 "Gregory's Chronicle" (C.S.), p. 237.]

Alle so that yere the Lorde Herberd of Walys gate the castelle of Hardelowe in Walys; that castylle ys so stronge that men sayde that hyt was impossybylle unto any man to gete hyt, but [by] poyntment hit was gotyn. And sum of the pety captaynys were be-heddyd at Towre Hylle at London, for that castelle was fortifyd and vytaylyd by suche as lovyd Kyng Harry; one of the men was callyd John Treublode.

Alle soo that yere, a lytylle be-fore the sege of that castelle, the olde Lorde Jesper and sum tyme Erle of Pembroke was in Walys; and he roode ovyr the contraye and helde many cessyons and cysys in Kyng Harrys name. But men wene that he was not owte of Walys when the Lord Herberde come with hys oste; but favyr at sum tyme dothe grete ese, as hit ys prevyd by the hydyng of that lorde sum tyme Erle of Penbroke.

31.

[Anglo-French relations. (a) Letter from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan, 31 August, 1468. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 163.]

Two days ago an embassy of the English arrived here. Yesterday they went to the king, and, from what I hear, they have come to negotiate a truce with his Majesty and say that they are content to have an understanding and friendship together, and also to treat about the marriage of that sovereign's second daughter . . . to King Edward's brother. The origin of this is that the King here, by indirect ways, has succeeded in getting these proposals brought forward, so that he may not have so many enemies to meet, so that they might have reason to consent to the truce, and not send 6000 archers to Brittany to help the Duke there, as they proposed to do. . . . The French King, in his own interests, wishes to attend to the truce, but he will dissimulate about the marriage alliance until he sees how things are going.

[(b) The same to the same, 1 October, 1468. *Ibid.*, no. 165.]

The English ambassadors . . . have returned home without effecting anything for which they came. They were content to make a long truce and have an understanding with the king here. His Majesty refused them certain lands of this realm of importance which they claimed. . . . The negotiations I wrote of having ceased, his Majesty now gives out that he means to help the old queen of England.

32.

[Robin of Redesdale's rebellion, 1469. "Warkworth's Chronicle," pp. 6-7.]

And in the ix yere of the regne of Kynge Edward, at myssomere, the Duke of Clarence passed the see to

Caleis to the Erle of Warwyke, and there weddede his doughter by the Archebysshoppe of Yorke the Erle of Warwyke brothere, and afterwarde come overe ayene. And anone aftere that, by ther assignment, there was a grete insurreccyon in Yorkeschyre, of dyvers knyghtes, squyres, and comeners, to the nowmber of xx^{ti} M^l.; and Sere William Conyars knyghte was therre capteyne, whiche callede hym self Robyne of Riddesdale; and agens hem aroose, by the Kynges commawndement, Lorde Harbarde, Erle of Penbroke, withe xliii M^l. of Walschemenne, the beste in Wales, and Humfray Stafforde, with vii M^l. of archers of the weste countre; and as thei went togedere to mete the northemenne at a towne, there felle in a varyaunce for ther logyng, and so the Erle of Devonschyre departed from the Erle of Penbroke withe alle his menne. And Robyne of Riddesdale came uppone the Walschemenne in a playne byyonde Banbury toune, and ther thei faughte strongly togedere, and ther was the Erle of Penbroke takene, and his brother withe hym, and two M^l. Walschmenne slayne, and so the Walschmen loste the felde the xxvi day of Juylle the same yere. . . . And at that tyme was the Lorde Ryvers takene, and one of his sonnes, in the forest of Dene, and brought to Northamtone, and the Erle of Penbroke and Sere Richard Herbarde his brother were behedede at Northamtone, alle iiii by the commawndement of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke; and Thomas Harbarde was slayne at Brystow, etc. And at the same tyme was Stafford, that was Erle of Devynschyre but half a yere, take at Bryggewatere by the comons ther in Somersettschyre, and ther ryghte behedede. And after that the Archebysshoppe of Yorke had understondynge that Kynge Edward was in a vilage bysyde Northampton, and alle his peple reysyd were fledde fro hym; by the avyce of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke he rode

with certayne horsmenne harneysed withe hym, and toke Kynge Edward, and had hym unto Warwyke castelle a lytelle whyle, and afterwarde to Yorke cite.

33.

[Another rising in the north, 1469. "Brief Latin Chronicle" (C.S.), p. 183. (Latin.) Edward took the opportunity which this rising offered of weakening the Nevilles' power in the north; he "promoted" the Neville Earl of Northumberland to be Marquis Montague, and restored the earldom to the heir of the Percies.]

And immediately after [Robin of Redesdale], another rose in rebellion, named Robin of Holdernes, with his accomplices, asking for the earldom of Northumberland to be restored to the rightful heir; and the Earl of Northumberland that then was captured him and had him beheaded, and his followers were dispersed.

34.

[The King's escape, and his preparations against the Earl of Warwick. Letter from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan, 20 November, 1469. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 177.]

The last news received by his Majesty here was that the Earl of Warwick had gone to the North to take possession of the castles and estates of those lords whom he had caused to be beheaded. The King of England was with him, going freely to amuse himself by hunting wherever he chose. One day, being in the country, he took the road towards London, and entered the city, where he was very gladly and cordially received, as it seems that the king is much beloved by the men of that city, while the earl is hated, and the king is making efforts to raise as large a force as he can to go against the Earl of Warwick.

His Majesty's correspondent upon this matter announces that the King of England already has a large

force, and says that I know not what lords and military commanders have fled from the earl and gone to meet the king, in order to help him. Also that the earl and the Duke of Clarence are mustering all the men they can, to go and find the king and fight a fresh battle.

35.

[Edward's escape from the power of Warwick. Letter from Sir John Paston to Margaret Paston, October, 1469. "Paston Letters," II, 389.]

The Kynge is comyn to London, and ther came with hym, and roode ageyn hym, the Duke of Glowcestr . . . and many other knyghtys and sqwyers, the Meyr of London, xxii aldremen, in skarlett, and of the crafftys men of the town to the nombre of CC, all in blewe. The Kynge come thorow Chepe, thowe it wer owt of hys weye, he cawse he wold not be seyn, and he was accompanied in all peple with M^l. horsse, som harneysyd and som nat. My Lorde Archebyssshop com with hym from Yorke, and is at the Moor, and my Lorde of Oxenfford roode to have mett the Kyng, and he is with my Lorde Archebyssshop at the Moor, and come nat to town with the Kynge; some sey that they wer yesterdaye iii myle to the Kyng wards from the Moor, and that the Kyng sent them a massangr that the scholde com when that he sent for them. I wot not what to suppose therin; the Kyng hymselffe hathe good langage of the Lords of Clarence, of Warwyk, and of my Lords of York [and] of Oxenford, seyng they be hys best frendys; but hys howselde men have other langage, so that what schall hastely falle I cannot seye.

36.

[The rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470. "Warkworth's Chronicle" (C.S.), pp. 8-9.]

And in the x yere of Kynge Edwardes regne, in the moneth of Marche, the Lorde Willowby, the Lorde Welles his sonne, Thomas Delalond knyght, and Sere Thomas Dymmoke knyght, the Kynges Champyon, droff oute of Lyncolneschyre Sere Thomas à Burghe, a knyght of the Kynges howse, and pullede downe his place, and toke alle his goodes and cataylle that thei myghte fynde, and thei gaderid alle the comons of the schyre to the nombre of xxx M^l., and cryed "Kynge Herry," and refused Kynge Edwarde. And the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke causede alle this, lyke as thei dyde Robyne of Riddesdale to ryse afore that at Banbury felde. And whenne Kynge Edwarde herde hereof, he made oute his commys syons, and gaderyd a grete peple of menne, and sent his pardone to the Lorde Wyllowby, and a commaundement that thei schuld come to hym, and so he dyd. And whenne the Kynge was sure of hym, he and alle his oste went towarde Lyncolneschyre, the Lorde Welles, and alle the othere peple [who] were gaderd togedere, and commawndede Lorde Wyllowby to sende a lettere to hys sonne and to alle the peple that he gaderyde, that thei schulde yelde them to hym as to ther sovereyne lorde, or ellys he made a woue that the Lorde Willowby schuld lese his hede; and he wrote and sent his lettere forthe, and therfor they wulde noght ceysse; wherfor the Kynge comawndyde the Lorde Wyllowby hede for to be smyten of, notwithstandinge his pardone. And so the Kynge toke his oste and went towarde his enemyes, and losyde his gonnys of his ordynaunce uppone them, and faught with them, and anone the comons fledde away; but ther was many manne slayne of Lyncolneschyre, and the Lorde Wellys, Sere Thomas Delalond, and Sere Thomas Dymmoke, knyghtys, takene and beheddede.

[The confession of Sir Robert Welles concerniug the Lincolnshire rebellion. "Camden Miscellany," I, 21-3.]

Aboute Candelmasse last, a chapelein of my lordes of Clarence, called maister John Barnby, and with him Sir John Clare, prestes, came to my lord my fadir and me to Hellow, with letres of credence yeven to the sayd maister Johan, which he opned in this wyse; that my lorde of Warwike was at London with the kinge, wherupon for thaire bothe suerties he praid us in both thaire names to be redy with alle the felaship we couth or might make and assemble of the comons, what tyme so ever my sayd lord of Clarence shuld send us word. Nathelesse he willed us to tary, and nott stur, to suche time as my lord of Warwike were come agayne from London, for doubte of his destruccion. . . .

The cause of oure grete risinge at this time was grounded upon this noise raisid amonges the people, that the kinge was coming downe (and with him Sir Thomas Borogh) with grete power, into Lincolnshire, where the kinges jugges shulde sitte, and hang and draw grete noumbre of the comons. Wherfore, with as many as we might make be alle meanes possible, we came to Lincoln upon the Tuseday; and upon the Wenesday a servaunt of my said lord of Clarence, called Walter —, yoman of his chawmbre, by his commaundment, told us the same, and that the gentilmen of the contre shuld passe upon us in such wyse that nedely gret multitud must dye of the comons; therupon desiring us to arise and procede in oure purpose, as we loved ourselves. . . .

The said Walter —, servaunt of my lorde of Clarence, went with me to the feld, and toke grete parte of guiding of our hoost, nott departing from the same to the end. And afore that, as sone as I came to Lincolne, I sent Sir

John Clare to my lord of Warwike, to have understanding from him how he wold have us guidid forthwardes ; but, for us semed he taried long, we sent hastily after him oon John Wright, of Lincolne, for the same cause ; and there-upon I departed with oure hoost towardes Grantham ; and in the way, aboute Temple Brewere, Sir John Clare mett with me, saing of my lord of Warwikes behalfe, that he grett us welle, and bade us be of gode comforth, for he and my said lord of Clarence wold araise alle the peple they couth in alle hast, and come towardes us, and utterly take suche parte as we shuld take. . . .

The Sunday after came John Wright to Grantham, and broght me a ring from my said lord of Warwike, and desired me to go forward, bidding me and us alle be of gode comfort, for he was in araising alle that he might make, and wold be at Leycestre on Monday night with xx M^l. men, and joyne with us. . . .

Also, my lord of Clarence servaunt Walter —, that cam to us at Lincolne, stured and meved often times our hoost, and in many places of the same, that att such tyme as the matir shuld come nerre the point of batelle they shuld calle upon my lord of Clarence to be king, and to distroye the kinge that so was aboute to distroye them and alle the realme : . . .

Also, I have welle understand by many mesagges, as welle fro my lord of Clarence as of Warwike, that they entended to make grete risinges, as forforthly as ever I couth understand, to th'entent to make the duc of Clarence king : and so it was oft and largely noised in our hoost.

Also, I say that ne had beene the said duc and erles provokinges, we at this tyme wold ne durst have maid eny commocion or sturing, but upon there comfortes we did that we did.

38.

[An anonymous letter "to my cosyn, J. Paston". "Paston Letters," II, 395-6, 27 March, 1470.]

The King camme to Grantham, and ther taried Thoresday all day¹; and ther was headed Sir Thomas Dalalaunde, and on John Neille, a greate capteyn; and upon the Monday next after that at Dancastr, and ther was headed Sir Robert Wellys, and a nothr greate capteyn; and than the King hadde warde that the Duk of Clarence and the Erle of Warwick was att Esterfeld,² xx mile from Dancastre.

And upon the Tewesday att ix of the bell, the King toke the feld, and mustered his people; and itt was seid that wer never seyn in Ingland so many goodly men, and so well arreyed in a feld. And my Lord was whorsshupfully accompanied, no lord ther so well; wherfor the King gaffe my Lord a greate thanke.

And than the Duk of Clarence and the Erle of Warwick harde that the King was comyng to them warde, in contynent they departed and wente to Manchestre in Lancasshire, hopyng to have hadde helpe and socour of the Lord Stanley, butt in concludion ther they hadde litill favour, as itt was enformed the King, and so men sayn they wente westward, and sommen demen to London. And whan the King harde they wer departed and gon, he went to York, and came theder the Thoresday next afr, and ther camme in to hym all the gentilmen of the shire; and uppon our Lady Day [he] made Percy Erle of Northumberland, and he that was Erle affore Markeys Muntakew. And so the King is purposed to come southwarde, God send hym god spede.

¹ 15 March.

² Chesterfield.

39.

[The flight of Clarence and Warwick. "Warkworth's Chronicle" (C.S.), p. 9.]

And whenne the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwike herde the felde was loste, and how there cown-selle was dyscoverede, thei fledde westwarde to the see syde, and toke there here schippys, and sayled towarde Southamptone, and entendet there to have a grete schyppe of the seid Erle of Warwykes, callyde the Trinite; but the Lorde Scales, the Quenes brother, was sent thedere by the Kynges commawndement, and other withe hym, and faught with the seide Duke and Erle, and toke there dyverse schyppes of theres and many of ther men therein; so that the Duke and the Erle were fayne to flee to the Kynge of Fraunce, where thei were worschipfully receyved.

40.

[Edward IV's stratagem to detach Clarence from Warwick. Comines, "Mémoires," ed. Dupont, I, 241-2. (French.) While Warwick and Clarence were in France, a lady came from England to attend upon the Duchess of Clarence. Ostensibly she brought offers of peace to the confederates from Edward IV, but her real business was a secret overture to Clarence.]

The secret that this woman bore was to set forth to my lord of Clarence that he ought not to wish to destroy his family in order to help and restore to authority that of Lancaster, and that he should consider their ancient hatreds and offences: and that he might well believe that, since the said earl had married his daughter to the prince of Wales, that he would try to make him king of England: and that already he had done homage to him. This woman carried out her plan so well, that she won over the lord of Clarence so that he promised to change over to the side of the King his brother, as soon as he should be in England.

41.

[Reconciliation of Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick. Letters from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan. C.S.P., Milan, I.]

[(a) No. 186. 2 June, 1470.]

His Majesty . . . is to meet the Earl of Warwick, who comes to make him reverence. It is considered certain that they will arrange a marriage between a daughter of the earl and the Prince of Wales, King Henry's son, and by thus raising up once more the party of that king the earl will return forthwith to England. . . . His Majesty assists him with money and men, nothing being omitted to render him victorious, and he is very hopeful.

[(b) No. 188. 12 June, 1470.]

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick arrived in this place [Amboise] on the 8th inst., and were received by the Most Christian King in the most honourable and distinguished manner imaginable. . . . Every day his Majesty has gone to visit them in their rooms and has remained with them in long discussions, while he honours and feasts them, giving them tournaments and dancing and everything else of distinction.

To-day they have left and gone away . . . until the arrival of the queen, wife of King Henry, and the Prince of Wales, her son. . . . The Earl of Warwick does not want to be here when that queen first arrives, but wishes to allow his Majesty to shape matters a little with her and induce her to agree to an alliance between the prince, her son, and a daughter of Warwick, and to put aside all past injuries and enmities. That done, Warwick will return here to give the finishing touches to everything, and immediately afterwards, according to all accounts, he will return to England with a great fleet, taking with him the said prince. . . . For the present his Majesty

will give Warwick 25,000 crowns and, according to what they say here, 25,000 more two or three months hence.

For the greater security of his said Majesty, the Duke of Clarence, his wife, as well as Warwick's wife, and other daughter, the future princess, will stay away from these parts.

[(c) No. 189. 29 June, 1470.]

The Queen of England, wife of King Henry, and the prince, her son, arrived in this place on the 25th inst., and were received in a very friendly and honourable manner by His Majesty the king and the queen. His Majesty has spent and still spends every day in long discussions with that queen to induce her to make the alliance with Warwick and to let the prince, her son, go with the earl to the enterprise of England. Up to the present the queen has shown herself very hard and difficult, and although his Majesty offers her many assurances, it seems that on no account whatever will she agree to send her son with Warwick, as she mistrusts him.

[(d) No. 190. 20 July, 1470.]

The Queen of England, wife of King Henry, has been induced to consent to do all that his Majesty desires, both as regards a reconciliation with Warwick and the marriage alliance. The said queen and Warwick are expected here [Angers] in a day or two, to arrange everything finally, and then Warwick will go to England without losing time. The Prince of Wales will not go with him this first time. . . .

The Duke of Burgundy, with all his power, has sent assistance in ships and troops to King Edward, in order to prevent Warwick from descending again upon England, but it is thought he will not be able to prevent it because Warwick will go to land in the country of Wales, where it is presumed he will be gladly received, because all the

men of that part are thorough-going partisans and servants of King Henry and his brother, and these last months they have already been in rebellion against King Edward.

[(e) No. 191. 24 July, 1470.]

The Queen of England and the Prince of Wales, her son, arrived here [Angers] the day before yesterday, and on the same day the Earl of Warwick also arrived. The same evening the king presented him to the queen. With great reverence Warwick went on his knees and asked her pardon for the injuries and wrongs done to her in the past. She graciously forgave him and he afterwards did homage and fealty there, swearing to be a faithful and loyal subject of the king, queen, and prince as his liege lords unto death.

42.

[Edward IV's carelessness after Warwick's expulsion. Comines, "Mémoires," I, 239-40. (French.)]

King Edward was not a man of great foresight, but a very handsome prince, more so than any I have ever seen in his time, and very valiant. He was not so much concerned about the invasion of the Earl of Warwick as the Duke of Burgundy was; for he knew the movements in England in favour of the said Earl of Warwick, and often warned King Edward of them; but he had no fear (it seems to me folly not to fear one's enemy and not to wish to believe anything) seeing the resources that he had: for the King [of France] had armed all the ships he could procure, and put many men in them; and had provided equipment for the English. He had arranged the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the second daughter of the said Earl of Warwick. . . . And all this huge train was ready to descend upon England.

43.

[A letter to Sir John Paston, written at the beginning of August, 1470. "Paston Letters," II, 406.]

Ther be many ffolkes uppe in the northe, soo that Percy is not able to recyst them; and soo the Kynge hathe sente ffor hys ffeodmen to koom to hym, for he woll goo to putt them downe. And soom seye that the Kynge sholde come ageyn to London, and that in haste, and as it is sayde Cortenayes be londyd in Devenschyr, and ther rewle.

Item, that the Lordes Clarence and Warwyk woll as-saye to londe in Inglonde evyrye daye, as ffolkes ffeer.

44.

[The Earl of Warwick's invasion, flight of Edward IV, and restoration of Henry VI. "Warkworth's Chronicle," pp. 10-12.]

In the same x yere aforeseide, [1470] a lytelle before Michaelmesse, the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke londede in the west countre, and gadered there a grete peple. The lorde Markes Montagu had gaderyd vi Ml. men, by Kynge Edwardes commysyone and commaundement, to the entente to have recistede the seide Duke of Clarence, and the Erle of Warwyke. Nevere the latter, the seide Markes Montagu hatyde the Kynge, and purposede to have taken hym; and whenne he was withein a myle of Kynge Edward, he declaredde to the peple that was there gaderede with hym, how Kynge Edward hadde fyrst yevyne to hym the erledome of Northumberlonde, and how he toke it from hym and gaff it Herry Percy, whos fadere was slayne at Yorke felde; and how of late tyme hadde he made hym Markes of Montagu, and yaff a pyes neste to mayntene his astate withe: wherefor he yaff knoleage to his peple that he wulde holde withe the Erle of Warwyke, his brothere, and take Kynge Edward if he myght, and alle tho that wolde holde with hym. But

anone one of the oste went oute frome the fellowschippe, and tolde Kynge Edwarde alle manere of thyng, and bade hym avoyde, for he was noght stronge enoghe to gyff batayle to Markes Montagu; and then anone Kynge Edwarde haysted hym in alle that he myght to the towne of Lynne, and ther he toke schyppynge one Michaelmesse day, in the x yere of his regne, with Lorde Hastynges, that was the Kynges Chamberleyne, Lorde Say, withe dyverse other knyghtes and squyers, passed and saylede overe the see into Flaunders, to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Burgeyne, for socoure and helpe, etc.

Here it is to knowe, that in the begynnynge of the moneth of Octobre, the yere of oure Lorde a MCCCCLXX, the Bisshope of Wynchestere, be the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke, went to the toure of Londone, where Kynge Herry was in presone by Kynge Edwardes commawndement, and there toke hyme from his kepers, which was noght worschippfully arayed as a prince, and noght so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a Prynce; thei hade hym oute, and newe arayed hym, and dyde to hyme grete reverens and brought hyme to the palys of Westmynster, and so he was restorede to the crowne ageyne. . . . Whereof alle his goode lovers were fulle gladde, and the more parte of peple. Nevere the lattere, before that, at he was putt oute of his reame by Kynge Edwarde, alle Englonde for the more partye hatyd hym, and were fulle gladde to have a chounge; and the cause was, the good Duke of Glouceter was put to dethe, and Jhon Holonde, Duke of Excetre, poysond, and that the Duke of Suffolke, the Lorde Say, Danyelle Trevelyane, and other myscheves peple that were aboute the Kynge, were so covetouse towarde them selff, and dyde no force of the Kynges honour, ne of his wele, ne of the comone wele of the londe, where Kynge Herry trusted to them that thei schuld do, and labour in tyme of innocence evere for

the comone wele, whiche thei dyde contrary to his wille; and also Fraunce, Normandy, Gasgoyne, and Guyane was lost in his tyme. And these were the causes, withe other, that made the peple to gruge ageyns hym, and alle bycause of his fals lordes, and nevere of hym; and the comon peple seyde, yf thei myghte have another Kynge, he schulde gett alle ageyne and amende alle manere of thynges that was amysse, and brynge the reame of Englund in grete prosperite and reste. Nevere the lattere, whenne Kynge Edwarde IIIIth regnede, the peple looked after alle the forseide prosperytes and peece, but it came not; but one batayle aftere another, and moche troble and grett losse of goodes amonge the comone peple; as fyrste, the xv of alle there goodes, and thanne ane hole xv, at yett at every batell to come ferre oute there countreis at ther awne coste; and these and suche othere brought Englonde ryght lowe, and many menne seyde that Kynge Edwarde had myche blame for hurtyng marchandyse, for in his dayes thei were not in other londes, nore witheyn Englonde, take in suche reputacyone and credence as thei were afore, etc.

45.

[Advice on government, addressed to the son of Henry VI (1470?). Extracts from George Ashby's poem, "The Active Policy of a Prince". (George Ashby's Poems, E.E.T.S.) It reflects the evils of government prevailing under Henry VI, and to a lesser extent under Edward IV.]

The wiseman saithe do all thinge with counseil,
 Not biddynge youre counsail do al thing,
 Right so if ye go youre selfe to batail,
 All folk woll folowe you in youre helpyng.
 Do youre selfe and all shall be obeying,
 Truste to no man is execucion,
 So wele as to youre oune inspeccion,

And paie youre men their wages and dutee,
That thei may lyve withoute extorcion,
And so wol god trouthe and equitee,
And therfore take hertili this mocion,
And in their nedys be their proteccion.
And so shal youre fame encrece and rise,
And every man youre pleasire accomplise.

. . . Be wele ware by discrete provision
For to suppressse youre false conspiratours,
Aftur the lawe and constitucion,
Established ayenst opyn traiterous,
Being circumspect as youre progenitours,
In suche caas have bene to the preserving,
Of their royal estate and preservyng.

Wolde to god that ye wolde provide sadly
To subdewe al maner rebellyon,
Namely of suche countreies that gladly
Be disposed to insurreccion,
Wherof ye may have intellection
Redyng cronicles, and then ye may fynde
Whiche places bene to thair deue kyng unkynde.

. . . Provide that your Communes may be welthy,
In richesse, goodes and prosperite,
And to occupacion them applye,
Undur drede of the lawe is rigourstee,
For of what condicion that he be,
And he be of goodes right plentuous,
He dar not be to law contrarious.

. . . Provide that lawe may be excercised,
And executed in his formal cours,
Aftur the statutes autorised
By noble kynges youre progenitours,
Yevyng therto youre aide helpe and socour.
So shall ye kepe folk in subjeccion
Of the lawe and trewe dispocision.

Yif ye wol bryng up ayen clothe makyng,
And kepe youre Comyns oute of ydelnesse,
Ye shull therfore have many a blessing
And put the pore people in busynesse,
Bi the whiche thei shal come to grete swetnesse,
And robbery lasse by that excercise,
And strumperry als by this entreprise.

Lete nat the pouer Comyns be dysguised
Nee have precious clothe in theirre vesture,
But in thair excesse be ther supprised
And observe a resonable mesure
In their arraye, with oute chaunge but tendure,
Accordyng to degree of laborours,
Aftur statute of youre progenitours.

. . . Also gentilmen shuld nat yeve clothyng
But to their howshold meyne, for surance
That no man be their power excedyng,
Ne maynteine no people, by youre puissance,
Ner false quarels take thorough maintenance,
But every man lyve of his owne in rest,
And that pleasithe god and man most best.

. . . By lawe every man shold be compellede
To use the bowe and shetyng for disport,
And al insolent pleies repellede,
And iche towne to have buttes for resort
Of every creature for their comfort,
Especially for al oure defence
Establisshed before of grete prudence.

. . . And als ever amonge cherisshe straungers,
Marchandes, pilgrymes and great clerkes,
In especial suche as be makers.
Thise may exaltat youre name and werkes,
Aftur the oolde dogge the yonge whelpe barks ;
Study ever to have men is favour
By vertue, or elles lost is youre labour.

. . . Make knyghtes, squiers and gentilmen riche,
 And the pore Comyns also welthy,
 But to youre richesse make never man liche,
 If ye wol stande in peas and be set by.
 So wol god and polleci sykerly,
 Lyke as ye in estate other excelle,
 In propre richesse ye sholde bere the belle.

Yf god send you children plentuously,
 As I truste to god he wole right wele,
 Do theim to be lettred right famously
 Wherby thei shall reule bi reason and skele,
 For leude men litle discrecion fele.
 Who that is lettred sufficiently,
 Rulethe meche withoute swerde obeiceantly.

46.

[Edward IV in exile, and the policy of the Duke of Burgundy.
 Comines, I, 245-56. (French.)]

So fled King Edward . . . with the two hulks and a little ship of his own, and some seven or eight hundred persons with him, who had no other clothing than their habiliments of war, and they had not a penny, and hardly knew where they were going. . . . He arrived in Friesland, near a little town called Alkmaer, and anchored his ship, because the tide was out and they could not enter the harbour, but they came as near to the town as they could. . . .

By chance the lord of Gruthuyse, governor for the Duke of Burgundy in Holland, was then at the place where the King of England wished to land, and he, as soon as he was informed of it (for they sent men ashore) . . . went on board the ship in which the said King was, and received him, and he landed, and full fifteen hundred men with him: and there was with him the Duke of

Gloucester, his brother, who afterwards had himself called King Richard. And the said King had not a penny; and gave a robe furred with fine marten to the master of the ship, promising to reward him better in time to come. Never was there such a poor company; but the said lord of Gruthuyse acted honourably, for he gave several robes, and defrayed all expenses to the Hague in Holland, where he took him: then he informed my lord of Burgundy of this occurrence, and he was marvellously afraid at this news, and would much have preferred his death: for he was very anxious about the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy and had the mastery of England. . . .

The day that the Duke of Burgundy had the news that King Edward had arrived in Holland, I had come to him from Calais, and found him at Boulogne, and as yet I knew nothing of this, nor of the King of England's flight. The Duke of Burgundy had, at first, news that he was dead. This did not trouble him at all, for he preferred the house of Lancaster to that of York. And he had then in his household the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset and several others of the said King Henry's party: wherefore it seemed to him that he would ally with this house; but he greatly feared the Earl of Warwick; and also he did not know how he could satisfy him who had fled to him, whose sister he had married, and to whom he was made a brother in Orders; for he bore the Fleece, and the said Duke bore the Garter. . . .

The said Duke immediately sent me back to Calais, and one or two gentlemen of Henry's party with me: and told me what he wished me to do in this changed state of affairs, and begged me very earnestly to go, saying that he had need to be served in this matter. . . .

I went to Calais. . . . Every man wore the livery of my lord of Warwick. At the door of my lodging and of my room they had painted more than a hundred white crosses,

and rhymes, saying that the King of France and the Earl of Warwick were united. . . . The said Lord Wenlock [Governor of Calais] invited me to dinner, and he was well accompanied; and he had a golden ragged staff in his bonnet (which was the said Earl's livery, which was a black staff) and all the others similarly; and he who could not have it in gold had cloth. And it was told me at dinner, that as soon as the messenger who brought them this news arrived from England, in less than a quarter of an hour everyone wore the said livery, so hasty and sudden was this change. . . .

I told them in answer to all questions that King Edward was dead, and that I was well assured of it, although I well knew the contrary; and that if he should not be, the alliances which my lord of Burgundy had with the King and kingdom of England were such, that they could not be broken by what had happened; and that he whom they should take for their king we would acknowledge also. On account of past changes there had been inserted these words, "with the king and kingdom"; . . . It was agreed between us that the alliances which we had made with the kingdom of England should stand, save that we should name Henry in place of Edward.

This arrangement greatly pleased the Duke of Burgundy: for the Earl of Warwick sent four thousand Englishmen to Calais, purposely to make war on him, and no way of conciliating him could be found. However the great merchants of London, several of whom were at Calais, turned him from it, because it is the staple of their wools; . . . and their principal market is in Flanders and Holland. And so the merchants helped greatly in the making of this arrangement, and in holding back my lord of Warwick's people. This was very fortunate for the Duke of Burgundy, for it was just at this time that the King [of France] had taken Amiens and St. Quentin; and

if the said Duke had been at war with the two kingdoms at once, he would have been destroyed. He endeavoured as far as he could to conciliate the Earl of Warwick, saying that he never wished to do anything against King Henry, and that he was of this house of Lancaster, and all such things serving his end.

47.

[Louis XI was determined to unite England with him in war on the Duke of Burgundy. Extract from the instructions of the ambassadors sent by Louis XI to Henry VI and Warwick, 13 November, 1470. Document appended to Waurin, "Croniques," ed. Dupont, III, 199-200. (French.)]

The said ambassadors are charged and have power from the king to treat for and conclude with the king of England and my said lord of Warwick a special alliance against the Duke of Burgundy, and that the said alliance should be such and so well and surely made, that none of the parties can ever make treaty, peace, accord or appointment, truce or abstention from war with the said duke of Burgundy . . . without the other . . . but each of the parties shall be bound to pursue to the uttermost, conduct and continue the war until the final conquest of the said Duke of Burgundy and of all his countries, lands and lordships. . . .

Also the said ambassadors are charged and have power to conclude and appoint what share and portion each shall have of the conquests which shall be made from the said Duke of Burgundy, and they shall make offer that my said lord of Warwick shall have for his share, the countries and lordships of Holland and Zealand.

[A treaty of offensive alliance against Burgundy was sealed between England and France on 28 November, 1470. The Duke of Burgundy, despite his desire for peace with Henry VI and Warwick, was thus forced to help Edward IV. Comines, I, 256-8. (French.)]

King Edward came to the Duke of Burgundy at St. Pol, and earnestly begged for his aid to enable him to return, assuring him that he had a strong party in the realm of England; and that, for the love of God, he would not abandon him, seeing that he had married his sister and that they were Order brothers. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter urged the contrary and for King Henry's party. The said Duke did not know with which to comply: . . . Finally he made an agreement with the said Duke of Somerset and the others above mentioned, taking of them certain promises against the Earl of Warwick, whose old enemies they were. Seeing this, King Edward, who was there, was much disturbed: however, he was encouraged as far as possible, being told that there must be dissimulation so as not to have war with two kingdoms at once: for if the said Duke were destroyed, he could not afterwards easily help him. However the said Duke, seeing that he could not restrain the said King Edward from going to England, and for several reasons not daring to anger him on all points: pretended publicly not to give him any help, and made proclamation that none should aid him; but underhand and secretly he lent him five thousand St. Andrew florins, and supplied him with three or four large ships which he had fitted out for him at the port of Veer in Holland, where is a port where everyone is received; and hired for him secretly fourteen Easterling ships well armed, which promised to serve him until he had passed to England, and for fifteen days after. This help, considering the times, was very great.

49.

[The return of King Edward IV, 1471. Extracts from the " Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England " (C.S.). He embarked at Flushing on 2 March, but on account of bad weather was unable to sail until 11 March ; he landed at Ravenspur on 14 March.]

As to the folks of the countrye there came but right few to hym, or almost none, for, by the scuringe of suche persons as for that cawse were, by his said rebells, sent afore into thos partes for to move them to be agains his highnes, the people were sore endwsed to be contrary to hym, and not to receyve, ne accepe hym, as for theyr Kynge ; natwithstondynge, for the love and favour that before they had borne to the prince of fulnoble memorye, his father, Duke of Yorke, the people bare hym right great favowr to be also Duke of Yorke, and to have that of right apartayned unto hym, by the right of the sayde noble prince his fathar. And, upon this opinion, the people of the countrie, whiche in greate nombar, and in dyvars placis, were gatheryd, and in harnes, redye to resiste hym in chalenginge of the Royme and the crowne, were disposyd to content them selfe, and in noo wyse to annoy hym, ne his felowshipe, they affirmynge that to such entent were [they] comen, and none othar. Where-upon, the hoole felowshipe of the Kyngs comen and assembled togethar, he toke advise what was best to doo, and concludyd brifely, that, . . . for as longe as he shuld be in passynge thrughe and by the contrye, and to the tyme that he myght, by th'assistaunce of his trew servaunts, subiects and lovars, whiche he trustyd verily in his progres shuld come unto hym, be of suche myght and puissaunce as that were lykely to make a sufficient party, he, and all thos of his felowshipe, shuld noyse, and say openly, where so evar they came, that his entent and purpos was only to claime to be Duke of Yorke, and

to have and enioy th'enheritaunce that he was borne unto, by the right of the full noble prince his fathar, and none othar. Thrwghe whiche noysynge the people of the contrye that were gatheryd and assembled in dyvars placis, to the number of vi or vii thowsand men, by the ledinge and gwydyng of a priste the vycar of [blank] in one place, and a gentleman of the same contrye, callyd Martyn of the See, to th'entent to have resisted and lettyd hym his passage, . . . toke occasyon to owe and beare hym favowre in that qwarell.

[Edward went to York, where he was allowed to enter and pass a night. He went from there to Tadcaster and on to Wakefield, passing Pomfret Castle, which was held by the Marquis Montague, without hindrance.]

Trouth it is, that he [Montague] ne had nat, ne cowthe not have gatheryd, ne made, a felashipe of nombar sufficient to have openly resistyd hym in hys qwarell, ne in Kyng Henries qwarell; and one great caws was, for great partie of the people in thos partis lovyd the Kyngs person well, and cowthe nat be encoragyed directly to doo agayne hym in that qwarell of the Duke of Yorke, which in almannar langage of all his fellowshipe was covertly pretendyd, and none othar. An othar grete cawse was, for grete partye of [the] noble men and comons in thos parties were towards th'Erle of Northumbarland, and would not stire with any lorde or noble man other than with the sayde Earle, or at leaste by his commandement. And, for soo muche as he sat still, in suche wise that yf the Marques wolde have done his besines to have assembled them in any manier qwarell, neithar for his love, whiche they bare hym non, ne for any commandement of higher auctoritie, they ne wolde in no cawse, ne qwarell, have assisted hym. Wherein it may right well appere, that the said Erle, in this behalfe, dyd the Kynge right gode and notable service, and, as it is deemed in the

concepts of many men, he cowthe nat hav done hym any beter service, ne not thowghe he had openly declared hym selfe extremly parte-takar with the Kyng in his rightwys qwarell, and, for that entent, have gatheryd and assemblyd all the people that he might have made ; for, how be it he loved the Kyng trewly and perfectly, as the Kyng thereof had certayne knowledge, and wolde, as of himselfe and all his power, have served hym trwely, yet was it demyd, and lykly it was to be trewe, that many gentlemen and othar, whiche would have be araysed by him, wolde not so fully and extremly have determyned them selfe in the Kyng's right and qwarell as th'Erle wolde have done hymselfe ; . . . his sittynge still caused the citie of Yorke to do as they dyd, and no werse, and every man in all thos northe partes to sit still also, and suffre the Kyng to passe as he dyd, nat with standynge many were right evill disposed of them selfe agaynes the Kyng, and in especiall, in his qwarell. . . .

Abowte Wakefylde, and in thos parties, came some folks unto hym, but not so many as he supposed wolde have comen ; nevarthelesse his nombar was encreasyed. And so thens he passyd forthe to Doncastar, and so forthe to Notyngham. And to that towne came unto hym two good Knyghts, Syr William Parre, and Ser James Harington, with two good bands of men, well arrayed, and habled for warr, the nombar of vic men. . . .

At Leycestar came to the Kyng ryght-a-fayre felawshipe of folks, to the nombar of iiim. men, well habyled for the wers, suche as were veryly to be trustyd, as thos that woulde uttarly inparte with hym at beste and worste in his qwarell, withe all theyr force and myght to do hym theyr trew service. And, in substaunce, they were such as were towards the Lorde Hastings, the Kyngs Chambarlayne, and, for that entent above sayd, came to hym, stiryd

by his messages sent unto them, and by his servaunts, frinds, and lovars, suche as were in the contrie.

And so, bettar accompanied than he had bene at any tyme aforne, he departyd from Leycestar, and cam before the towne of Coventrie, the xxix day of Marche. And when he undarstode the sayde Earle [of Warwick] within the towne [was] closyd, and with hym great people, to the nombar of vi or viim. men, the Kynge desyred hym to come owte, with all his people, into the filde, to determyne his qwarell in playne felde, whiche the same Earle refused to do at that tyme, and so he dyd iii dayes aftar-ensuinge continually. The Kynge, seinge this, drwe hym and all hys hooste streght to Warwike, viii small myles from thens, where he was receyvyd as Kynge, and so made his proclamations from that tyme forthe wards.

[Warwick offered to treat with Edward, but no agreement was reached.]

Here it is to be remembrede how that, at suche season aforne, as when the Kynge was in Holand, the Duke of Clarence, the Kynge's second brothar, consyderinge the great inconveniences whereunto as well his brother the Kynge, he, and his brother the Duke of Glocestar, were fallen unto, thrwghe and by the devisyon that was betwixt them, whereunto, by the subtile compassynge of th' Erle of Warwike, and his complices, they were browght and enduced; as, first to be remembred, the disheritinge of them all from the Royme and Crowne of England, and that therto apperteynyd; . . . And, in especiall, he considred well, that hymselfe was had in great suspicion, despite, disdeigne and hatered, with all the lordes, noblemen and othar that were adherents and full partakers with Henry the Usurpar . . . he sawe also, that they dayly laboryd amongs them, brekyng theyr appoyntments made with hym, and, of lyklihed, aftar that, shuld continually more and more fervently entend, conspire and procure

the distruction of hym, and of all his blode, . . . and for othar many and great considerations, that by right wyse men and virtuex were layed afore hym, in many behalfs, he was agreed to entend to some good apointment for this pacification. By right covert wayes and meanes were goode mediators, and mediatricis, the highe and myghty princis my Lady, theyr mothar ; my lady of Exceter, my lady of Southfolke, theyre systars ; my Lord Cardinall of Cantorbery ; my Lord of Bathe ; my Lord of Essex ; and most specially, my Lady of Bourgoigne . . . which at no season ceasyd to send hir sarvaunts and messengars to the Kynge, wher he was, and to my sayd Lorde of Clarence, into England ; and so dyd his verrey good devowre in that behalfe my Lord of Hastings, the Kyng's Chambarlayne, so that a perfecte accord was appoyntyd . . . betwixt them ; wherein the sayde Duke of Clarence full honorably and trwly acquitted hym ; for, as sune as he was ascertygned of the Kyngs arivall in the north parties, he assembled anon suche as would do for hym, and assone as he godly myght, drew towards the Kynge, hym to ayde and assyste agaynste all his enemyes, accompanied with mo than iiiim.

50.

[The return of King Edward IV. "Warkworth's Chronicle," pp. 13-15.]

In the secunde weke of Marche, the xlix yere of the regne of Kynge Herry the VI^{te}, and in the x yere of the regne of Kynge Edward the IIII^{te}, the same Kynge Edward toke his schippyng in Flaunders, and hade withe hym the Lorde Hastynges and the Lorde Say, and ix. c. of Englismenne and three hundred of Flemynges with hande-gonnes, and sailed toward Englonde, and had grete trouble uppon the see with stormys, and lost a schyppe withe horse ; and purpost to have londede in Northfolke, and one

of the Erle [of] Oxenfordes brother withe the comons of the cuntre arose up togedere, and put hym abake to the see ageyne. And after that, at he was so trobled in the see, that he was fayne to londe in Yorkeschyre at Ravenys-spore; and there rose ageyns hym alle the cuntre of Holdernes, whose capteyne was a preste, and a persone in the same cuntre called Sere Jhon Westerdale, whiche aftyrwarde for his abused disposycion was casten in presone in the Marchalse at Londone by the same Kynge Edward: for the same preste mett Kynge Edward and askede the cause of his landyng; and he answeyde that he came thedere by the Erle of Northumberlondes avyce, and schewed the Erles lettere y-send to hym, etc. undere his seale; and also he came for to clayme the Duchery of Yorke, the whiche was his inherytaunce of ryght, and so passed forthe to the cite of Yorke, where Thomas Clyfford lete hym inne, and there he was examynede ayenne; and he seyde to the mayre and aldermenne and to alle the comons of the cite, in likewyse as he was afore in Holdernes at his landyng: that was to sey, that [he] nevere wulde clayme no title, ne take uppone honde to be Kynge of Englonde, nor wulde have do afore that tyme, but be excitynge and sturinge of the Erle of Warwyke; and therto afore alle peple, he cryed "A! Kynge Herry! A! Kynge and Prynce Edward!" and wered ane estrychede feder, Prynce Edwardes lyvery. And after this he was suffered to passe the cite, and so helde his wey southwarde, and no man lettyd hym ne hurtyde hym.

Afterwarde that, he came towarde Notynggham, and ther came to hym Sere William a Stanley with CCC men, and Sere William Norys, and dyverse other menne and tenauntes of Lorde Hastynges, so that he hade M^l. M^l. menne and moo; and anone aftere he made his proclamacyone, and called hym self Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce. Thenne toke he his wey to Leycetere, where

were the Erle of Warwyke and the Lord Markes his brother with iiii M^l. menne and moo. And Kynge Edwarde sent a messyngere to them, that yf thai wulde come oute, that he wulde feght withe them. But the Erle of Warwyke had a letter from the Duke of Clarence, that he schulde not feght withe hym tylle he came hym self; and alle was to the distruccion of the Erle of Warwyke, as it happenede aftyward. Yet so the Erle of Warwyke kept stille the gates of the toun schet, and suffrede Kynge Edwarde passe toward Londone; and a litelle oute of Warwyke mett the Duke of Clarence with Kynge Edwarde, with vii M^l. men, and ther thei were made acorde. . . .

Kyng Herry thenne was in Londone, and the Archebysshoppe of Yorke, witheyn the Bysschoppys of Londone palece. And on the wennysday next before Ester-day, Kynge Herry and the Archebysshoppe of Yorke with hym roode aboute Londone, and desirede the peple to be trew unto hym; and every manne seide thei wulde. Nevere the latter, Urswyke, recordere of Londone, and diverse aldermen, suche that hade reule of the cyte, commaundede alle the peple that were in harnes, kepyng the cite and Kynge Herry, every manne to goo home to dynere: and in dyner tyme Kynge Edwarde was late in, and so went forthe to the Bisshoppes of Londone palece, and ther toke Kynge Herry and the Archebisshoppe of Yorke, and put theme in warde, the thursday next before Ester-day.

51.

[The battle of Barnet. "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England," pp. 17-21.]

Th' Erle of Warrewike . . . isshued owt of Coventrie with a great puissaunce, the lords, and all that he might make with hym, and, by Northampton, tooke theire way after the Kynge, supposinge verrelly to have had right

great advantage upon hym by one of the two waies ; eithar, that the citie [of London] shuld have kepte the Kynge owte, whiche failed ; or els, in caas he were received in, he shulde there [have] kepte and observyd the solempnitie of Estar, and, yf he so dyd, he thowght sodaynly to come upon hym, take hym, and distroy hym, and his people [to have] disceaveyed, but the Kyng, well advartised of this yvell and malicious purpos, dyd grate diligence to recountre hym, or he might come nere to the citie, as ferre from it as he goodly myght ; and, therefore, with a great armye, he departyd out of the citie of London towards hym, upon the Saturdaye, Ester's even, the xiii day of Aprell. And so he toke in his companye to the felde, Kynge Henrye ; and soo, that aftar none, he roode to Barnete, x myles owte of London, where his aforne-riders had founden the afore-riders of th' Erles of Warwikes hooste, and bet them, and chaced them out of the towne, more some what than a halfe myle ; when, undre an hedge-syde, were redy assembled a great people, in array, of th' Erls of Warwike. The Kynge, comynge aftar to the sayde towne, and undarstanding all this, wolde [not] suffre one man to abyde in the same towne, but had them all to the field with hym, and drewe towards his enemies, withoute the towne. And, for it was right derke, and he myght not well se where his enemyes were enbataylled afore hym, he lodged hym, and all his hoste, afore them, moche nere[r] then he had supposed, but he toke not his ground so even in the front afore them as he wolde have don yf he might bettar have sene them, butt somewhate a-syden-hande, where he disposed all his people, in good arraye, all that nyght ; and so they kept them still, withowt any mannar langwage, or noyse, but as lytle as they well myght. Both parties had goons, and ordinaunce, but th' Erle of Warwike had many moo then the Kynge, and therefore, on the nyght, weninge gretly to have anoyed the Kinge, and his hooste

with shot of gonnes, th' Erls fielde shotte gunes almoste all the nyght. But, thanked be God! it so fortunéd that they alway ovarshote the Kyngs hoste, and hurtyd them nothinge, and the cawse was the Kyngs hoste lay muche nerrar them than they demyd. . . . The Kynge suffred no gonns to be shote on his syd, all that nyght, or els right fewe, whiche was to hym great advauntage, for thereby they myght have estemed the ground that he lay in, and have leveled their gunns nere.

On the morow, betymes, The Kynge, undarstandinge that the day approched nere, betwyxt four and five of the cloke, natwithstandynge there was a greate myste and letted the syght of either othar, yet he commytted his cawse and qwarell to Allmyghty God, avancyd bannars, dyd blowe up trumpets, and set upon them, firste with shotte, and than and sone, they joyned and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and coragiously receyved them, as well in shotte as in hand-stroks whan they ioyned; whiche ioynynge of their bothe batteyls was nat directly frount to frount . . . and that of lyklyhod cawsed the bataile to be the more crewell and mortall; for, so it was, that the one ende of their batayle ovarrechyd th' end of the Kings battayle, and so, at . . . the west ende . . . they had a gretar distres upon the Kyngs party, wherefore many fiede towards Barnet, and so forthe to London, or evar they lafte; and they fell in the chace of them, and dyd moche harme. But the other parties, and the residewe of neithar bataile, might se that distrese; ne the fleinge, ne the chace, by cawse of [the] great myste. . . . And, in lykewise, at the est end, the Kyngs batayle, whan they cam to ioynynge, ovarrechyd their batayle, and so distresyd them their gretly, and soo drwe nere towards the Kynge, who was abowt the myddest of the battayle, and susteygned all the myght and weight thereof. . . . He, with great violence, bett and bare down afore hym all

that stode in hys way . . . so that nothing myght stande in the syght of hym and the welle asswred felowshipe that attendyd trewly upon hym; so that, blessed be God! he wan the filde there, and the perfite victory remayned unto hym, and to his rebells the discomfiture of xxx^m. men, as they nombrid them selves.

In this battayle was slayne the Erle of Warwyke, somewhat fleinge. . . . Ther was also slayne the Marques Montagwe. . . .

This battayle duryd, fightyng and skirmishinge, some tyme in one place and some tyme in an othar, ryght dowbtefully, becawse of the myste, by the space of thre howrs, or it was fully achivyd. . . . And, albe hit the vycторыe remayned to the Kynge, yet was it not without grete danger and hurt, for ther were slayne in the filde the Lorde Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoies sonne and heyre, and many othar good Knyghts, and squiers, gode yemen, and many othar meniall servaunts of the Kyngs. . . .

On the morow aftar, the Kynge commandyd that the bodyes of the deade lords, th' Erle of Warwicke, and hys brothar the Marques, shuld be browght to Powles in London, and, in the churche there, openly shewyd to all the people . . . for, dowbtles ells the rumore shuld have bene sowne abowte, in all contries, that they bothe, or els, at the leaste, th' Erle of Warwyke, was yet on lyve, upon cursed entent therby to have cawsyd newe murmors, insurrections, and rebellyons, amongst indisposed people.

52.

[The Yorkist custom in battle. Comines, "*Mémoires*," I, 245, 260. (French.)]

King Edward told me that in all the battles he had won before his exile, he mounted a horse, and cried out that they should spare the people and kill the lords: for none or very few of these escaped. . . .

[At Barnet] the discomfiture was very great: for King Edward had decided, when he set out from Flanders, that he would no longer use the custom of crying out that they should spare the people and kill the men of quality, as he had formerly done in earlier battles: for he had conceived a great hatred against the English people for the great favour that he saw they bore to the Earl of Warwick, and also for other reasons: wherefore at this time they were not spared.

53.

[The battle of Tewkesbury. "Warkworth's Chronicle," pp. 17-19.]

And Quene Marget, and Prince Edward hire sonne, with other knyghtes, squyres, and other menne of the Kyng of Fraunce, hade navy to brynge them to Englonde: whiche, whenne thei were schipped in Fraunce, the wynde was so contrary unto them xvii dayes and nyghtes, that [thei] myght not come from Normandy with [it] unto Englonde, whiche withe a wynd myght have seylede it in xii oures; whiche at the xvii dayes ende one Ester day at the evyne the[i] landed at Weymouthe, and so by lande from Weymouthe the[i] roode to Excetre; and mette withe hire, at Weymouth, Edmund Duke of Somersett, the Lorde Jhon his brother, brother to Herry Duke of Somerset slayne at Exham, and Curteney the Erle of Devynschyre, and many othere. And on Ester mounday was brought tithingys to them, that Kynge Edward hade wonne the felde at Barnett, and that Kynge Herry was put into the Toure ayene. And anone ryghte thei made oute commaundementes, in the Quenes name and the Prynce, to alle the weste countre, and gaderet grete peple, and kepte hire wey towarde the toune of Bristow. And when the Kynge herd that thei were landede, and hade gaderede so myche peple, he toke alle his hoste, and went oute of Londone the

wennysday in Ester weke, and manly toke his waye towarde them ; and Prynce Edwarde herd therof ; he hastede hym self and alle his oste towarde the towne of Glouceter, but he enteryd noght into the towne, but held forthe his way to the towne of Teukesbury, and ther he made a felde noght ferre from the ryver Saverne ; and Kynge Edwarde and his oste came uppone hym, the saturday the fourth day of Maii, the yere aforeseide of oure Lorde a M^l.CCCCLXXI, and the xi yere of Kynge Edwarde. And Edmund Duke of Somersett, and Sere Hugh Curteneye, went oute of the felde, by the whiche the felde was broken ; and the moste parte of the peple fledde awaye from the Prynce, by the whiche the feld was loste in hire party. And ther was slayne in the felde, Prynce Edward, whiche cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Clarence. Also ther was slayne, Curteney the Erle of Devynschyre, the Lorde Jhon of Somersett, the Lorde Wenloke, Sere Edmund Hampden, Sere Robart Whytyngham, Sere William Vaus, Sere Nicholas Hervy, Sere Jhon Delvis, Sere William Feldyng, Sere Thomas Fiztharry, Sere Jhon Leukenore, knyghtes ; and these were taken and behedede afterwarde, where the Kynge hade pardoned them in the abbey cherche of Teukesbury, by a prest that turnyd oute at his messe and the sacrament in his handys, whanne Kynge Edwarde came with his swerde into the chirche, requyrede hyme by the vertu of the sacrament that he schulde pardone alle tho whos names here folowe ; the Duke of Somersett, the Lorde of Seynt Jhones, Sere Humfrey Audeley, Sere Gervis of Clyftone, Sere William Gremyby, Sere William Cary, Sere Thomas Tresham, Sere William Newbrugh, knyghtes [and seven others] ; whiche, uppone trust of the Kynges pardone yevene in the same chirche the saturday, abode ther stille, where thei myght have gone and savyd ther lyves ; whiche one monday aftere were behedede, noghtwhitstondynge the Kynges pardone.

54.

[The Bastard Fauconberg's attack on London, May, 1471. "Political Poems" (R.S.), II, 277-9.]

In Sothwerke, at Bambere heth, and Kyngston eke,
 The bastarde and his meane in the contre abowte,¹
 Many grett men in London they made seke,
 Man, wyff, ne childe there durst non rowte.
 Oxin, shepe, and vetayle, withowtyn any dowte,
 They stale away and carrid ever to and froo.
 God suffirs moche thyng, his wille to be doo.

Moche sorow and shame the wrecchis thay wroughte,
 Fayre placis thay brend on the water side.
 Thayre myschevus dedis awaylid ham nought,
 Schamfully thay wroughte, and so thaym betyd.
 Thay wolde not leve ther malice, but therin abyde,
 Thay cryed kyng Edward and Warwicke also.
 Thus the wille of God in every thyng is doo.

At Londone brygge thay made asawte, sham to see,
 The utter gate on the brygge thay sett on fyre;
 Into Londone shott arows withowte pete.
 With gunnus thay were bett that sum lay in the myre.
 Thay askyd wage of the brygge, thay paid them thayre
 hire.

Ever amonge they had the worse, then wakynd thaire woo,
 False men most be poyneshyd, the will of God is soo.

At Londone brige anodyr sawte thay made agayne,
 Wyth gunpowdir and wildefire and straw eke;
 Fro the gate to the drawbrygge thay brent down playne,
 That x myle men myghte se the smeke.
 Thay were not of thayre entent the nere of a leke,
 For into the cite thay myghte not com for wele ne for woo;
 God restid thayre malice, the wille of hym was soo.

¹ Abode.

At Algate thay sawtid in an ill seasoun ;
 Thay brente fayre howsis, pete was to se.
 Thus these false men did opyne tresoun,
 Supposynge evermore to enture the cite.
 God and good seyntes thereof had pite.
 Thayre malice was sesid and turned hem to woo.
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

The erle of Esex, and also the aldurmen,
 At Bysshopus gate togedder thay mette,
 And owte therat sewde like manly men.
 Thay bete hem down, no man myghte hem lett ;
 Freshely on thayre enmyes that day did thay fyghte.
 Thayre false treson broughte theym in woo ;
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

. . . God wolde the erle Revers there shulde be ;
 He purchesid grett love of the comyns that seasoun ;
 Lovyngly the cetysens and hee
 Pursuyd thayre enmyes, it was but reason,
 And kyllid the peple for thayre false tresoun,
 Or the chase were do, CC and moo.
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy will be do.

55.

[The death of Henry VI. (a) "Warkworth's Chronicle," p. 21.]

The same nyghte that Kynge Edward came to Londone, Kynge Herry, beyng inwarde in presone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxi day of Maii, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xi and xii of the cloke, beyng thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucetre, brothere to Kynge Edward, and many other ; and one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme ; and in hys lyng he blodde one the pament ther ; and

afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede new and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buryed there in oure Lady chapelle.

[(b) Kingsford, p. 185.]

Also upon Ascencion Evyn kyng Henry was brought from the Tower thugh Chepe unto Powlys upon a bere; and abowte the beere more glevys and stayvs than torches; who was slayne, as it was said, by the Duke of Glowceter; but howe he was deed, thedir he was brought deed; and in the Chirch the Corps stode all nyght. And on the morne was conveyed to Chertsey, where he was buried.

[(c) The official account of Henry's death. "Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward IV," p. 38.]

The certaintie of all whiche [i.e. the total downfall of the Lancastrian party] came to the knowledge of the sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London; not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it to so great dispite, ire, and indingnation, that, of pure displeasure and melencoly, he dyed the xxiii day of the monithe of May.

56.

[Feeling in France and Burgundy about Edward IV's restoration.

Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 2 June, 1471. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 218.]

Yesterday his Majesty here heard with extreme sorrow, by clear and manifest news from England, so it appears, that King Edward has recently fought a battle with the Prince of Wales, towards Wales, whither he had gone to meet him. He has not only routed the Prince but taken and slain him, together with all the leading men with him. He has also taken the Queen and sent her to London to keep King Henry company, he also being a prisoner there; and so at length King Edward remains the peaceful

lord and dominator of that kingdom of England without having any further obstacle whatever.

Your Excellency may imagine the great joy and satisfaction of the Duke of Burgundy at these affairs. He has shown it by public demonstrations, constant processions, ringing of bells and bonfires so that one would imagine the whole country to be on fire. It is expected to make him so haughty that he will no more consent to a year's truce.

57.

[Expectations of an English invasion of France. Letter, dated 19 June, 1471, from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 221.]

Rumours and advices continue to increase that the English are getting ready to come at present and land in Normandy and Guienne. They are very anxious about it here, and their suspicions are strengthened by this new attitude of the Duke of Burgundy in refusing to accept the truce as arranged by his ambassadors by his order. The king on his side does not relax any of his preparations for war. . . . The war will doubtless be sharp and terrible if the English come, as expected. God rule all for the best.

58.

The attitude of Louis XI to Edward IV. (a) Letter from the Milanese ambassador in France to the Duke of Milan, 16 July, 1471. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 229.]

His Majesty thoroughly approves of the suggestion of your Highness, about it being desirable to try and keep up some disturbances in England. He says he is doing so with all his might. He still has there the Earl of Pembroke, brother of the late King Henry on his mother's side, who has a good number of places in Wales . . . which is in constant opposition to King Edward, with the help of the Scots. He has arranged to give assistance to this

Earl and to the Scots also, and to do what he can for them, so that they may keep up the war and disturbance. However, his Majesty does not appear to place any great reliance on this. . . .

[(b) The same to the same, 11 September, 1471. *Ibid.*, no. 231.]

His Majesty still continues the negotiations for an understanding and marriage alliance with the King of England, which I reported in my previous letter had been begun; especially since the capture of the said Earl¹ took place, and I feel sure there will be no failure on his side to carry it into effect, though there is considerable doubt as to whether the King of England may not break it off. It is thought that he may have started the proposals in order to lull his Majesty to sleep to prevent him from sending help to the said Earl of Pembroke, or to any other of his opponents, so as to secure himself thoroughly in that kingdom of England and then snap his fingers at his Majesty. It may also be that he is acting in good faith, since he is ill content with the savage treatment meted out to him by the Duke of Burgundy, when he was driven out of England by him.

59.

[Report of Anglo-French relations, dated 23 October, 1475. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 317.]

About three years ago the King of England had communication with the King of France . . . the reason why the King of England held this intercourse was because he was dissatisfied with the Duke of Burgundy for two chief reasons; one because when he was driven out by King Henry and took refuge in the duke's lands he had a very poor reception; the other, that after he became king he deciphered some letters of the duke . . . professing his

¹ The Earl was not captured, but escaped to Brittany.

friendship with King Henry and offering to hand King Edward over to him. Subsequently when the Duke of Burgundy saw that this way would not succeed, he changed his tack and almost by compulsion helped King Edward. For this reason King Edward has always been a secret enemy of the duke and entered upon this intercourse with the King of France.

60.

[Attempts to ensure the succession of Prince Edward. (a) R.P., VI, 234; entry on the Close Roll of 1471. (First paragraph in Latin.)]

Memorandum, that the third day of July, the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward IV, at Westminster in the Parliament Chamber, the venerable father Thomas Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, and other lords spiritual and temporal, and also certain knights, whose names are underwritten, made recognition and swore an oath to Edward eldest son of our said lord King Edward IV, illustrious Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, in form following; and in corroboration of the premisses, every one of them subscribed their names with their own hands.

“I . . . knowledge, take and repute You, Edward Prince of Wales . . . to be verey and undoubted Heyre of oure seide Sovereigne Lord, as to the Coronas and Reames of England and of Fraunce, and Lordship of Irland; And promitte and swere, that in cas hereafter it happen You, by Goddis disposicion, to outleve our said Sovereigne Lord, I shall then take and accepte You for true, veray and rightwis Kyng of Englund, etc. And feith and trowth to You shall bere: And yn all thyngs truely and feithfully behave me towardses You, and youre Heyres, as a true and feithfull subject oweth to behave hym to his Sovereigne Lord, and rightwys Kyng of Englund, etc. So help me God and Holidom, and this holy Evaungeliste.”

[This is signed by 10 prelates, 10 temporal peers including the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Prior of St. Johns, and 26 knights.]

[(b) Similar oath taken by the Mayor and aldermen of Coventry, 1474. "Coventry Leet Book" (E.F.T.S.), pp. 393-4.]

Also the III^{de} day of May the Meire and his Brethren were sende fore to com afore my lorde prynce, and there were desired to be sworn unto hym in like wyse as here is under written. And also oure seid lorde charging the meyre to swere the comente [commonalty] of the Cite after the same fforme as ffoloweth:—

I knowlege, take and repute you, Edward, Prynce of Wales . . . to be verray and undoubted heire of oure seid sovereign lorde [as in the oath of the peers and others]. And feithe and trowthe to you schall bere, and in all thynges truly and feithfilly behave me toward you and your heires, as a true and feithfull subgett oweth to behave to his sovereign lorde and rightwys kyng of England and of ffraunce and lorde of Irland. And I schal-be redye at all tyme accordyng with my duete to com at your callyng and to geve you attendaunce; and, yf the case so require, to leve and to dye in your lawful quarell. And from hensforth I schall eschewe and forbere to geve, take or resceyve any lyveree, reteyndour or cognesaunce, otherwyse then may accorde with the lawe and the statutes in that behalfe made.

61.

[The quarrel between the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, 1472. Second Continuation of the "Croyland Chronicle," ap. Gale, p. 557. (Latin.)]

After the son of King Henry, to whom the Lady Anne, younger daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was married, fell in the aforesaid battle of Tewkesbury, Richard Duke of Gloucester asked that the said Anne might be

given him to wife; but this desire did not correspond to the wishes of his brother the Duke of Clarence, who had previously married the Earl's elder daughter: therefore he had the girl hidden away, so that his brother might not discover where she was, fearing division of the inheritance, which he wished to be given to him only in right of his wife, rather than to divide it with anyone whatsoever. But the cunning of the said Duke of Gloucester so far prevailed, that the girl was found in the city of London, in the disguise of a kitchenmaid, and he had her taken to St. Martin's sanctuary. After this, great discord arose between the brothers, so many of the wisest reasons being brought forward by both sides in the presence of the King, who sat as judge in the Council chamber, that all those present were astonished, even the lawyers, at the great number of arguments brought forward by those princes in their own causes. . . . Their most loving brother the King at length intervened, and lest the quarrel of such great princes should hinder the royal proposals in the matter of France, the dispute was settled thus, that upon the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester with the aforesaid Anne, he should have such and so much of the lands as should be agreed between them by means of arbitrators, all the rest remaining in the possession of the Duke of Clarence, so that little or nothing was left at the disposal of the true lady and heiress, the Countess of Warwick, to whom during her life all that noble inheritance of Warwick and the Despencers should have belonged.

62.

[Edward IV's preparations for war with France. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 12 May, 1473. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 249.]

The King of England is devoting his attention to the expedition begun many days ago to cross to this country.

. . . And the said King never ceases to urge the marriage alliance on the King of Scotland, of which I wrote some days ago, and to get the clause excepting the King of France removed from the existing truce between the two Kings. . . .

The ambassadors of the King of Scotland have been here some time, with offers to wage active war on the King of England, if he chooses to land in this kingdom, and they promise his Majesty that they will adhere to their ancient league and confederation, but that they must have what his predecessors have received from the crown of France in the past, to wit, a pension of some 60,000 crowns a year, so that they may be able to oppose the King of England in favour of his Majesty. They are not yet despatched, but they are given good hope.

This matter is being pondered, and it causes much vexation that the Scots are in effect asking for money, protesting that if they do not get it they will leave the English safe on their side.

[In July the Scottish Parliament remonstrated successfully against James III's intrigues with Louis XI, and the plan to attack England was abandoned.]

63.

[The intrigues of the Duke of Clarence. Letter from Sir John Paston in London to John Paston, 6 November, 1473. "Paston Letters," III, 98. The King was in the Midlands.]

Wyrshypfull and well belovyd brother, I comand me to yow, letyng yow weet that the worlde semyth qweysye¹ heer; ffor the most part that be abowt the Kyng have sende hyddr ffor ther harneys, and it [is] seyde ffor serteyn, that the Duke off Clarence makyth hym bygge in that he kan, schewyng as he wolde but dele with the Duke of Glowcester; but the Kyng ententyth, in eschyewyng all

¹ Troubled, uneasy.

inconvenyents, to be as bygge as them bothe, and to be a styffeler atweyn them; and som men thynke that undre thys ther sholde be som other thyng entendyd, and som treason conspyred; so what shall falle, can I nott seye.

64.

[The Earl of Oxford's expedition, 1473-4. "Warkworth's Chronicle," pp. 26-7.]

Also in the xiii yere of [the] regne of Kynge Edward, Sere Jhon Veere, Erle of Oxenforde, that withdrewe hym frome Barnet felde, and frome thens into Fraunce asailed, and ther he was worschippfully received. And in the same yere he was in the see withe certeyne schippes, and gate grete good and rychesse, and afterewarde came into westecountre, and, with a sotule poynte of werre, gate and enteryd Seynt Michaels Mount in Cornwayle, a stronge place and a mygty, . . . and he and his menne came doune into cuntre of Cornwale, and hade riyhte good chere of the comons, etc. The Kynge and his counselle sawe that therof myche harme myght growe, etc.; comawndyd Bodrygan, scheff reulere of Cornwayle, to besege the seid mount. And so he dyd; and every day the Erle of Oxenfordes menne came doune undere trewis, spake with Bodrygan and his menne; and at the laste the seid Erle lacked vytayle, and the seyde Bodrygan suffryd hyme to be vytailed; and anone the Kynge was put in knowlache therof; wherefor the seide Bodrygan was discharged, and Richard Fortescu, squyere for the body, by auctoryte of the Kynge, toke uppone honde to lay sege to the forseide mount, etc. . . . and the seide Fortescu leyd sege, etc. . . . and for the most party every day eche of theme faughte withe othere, and the seide Erles menne kyllled dyverse of Fortescu menne; . . . The Kynge and his counselle sent unto dyverse that were with the Erle of Oxenforde prevely there pardones, and promysede to them grete yeftes and

landes and goodes, by the whiche dyverse of them were turned to the Kynge ayens the Erle ; and so in conclusion the Erle hade noght passynge ane viii or ix menne that wolde holde withe hym ; the whiche was the undoyng of the Erle, . . . whiche was fayne to yelde up the seyde mount, and put hyme in the Kynges grace ; if he hade noght do so, his owne menne wulde have brought hym oute. . . . And so was the Erle aforseyd, the Lorde Bemonde, two brotheres of the seide Erles, and Thomas Clyfforde, brought as a presonere to the Kynge ; and alle was donne by ther oun foly, etc.

65.

[Extracts from the treaties made between Edward IV and the Duke of Burgundy, July, 1474. (Latin.) They first made treaties of perpetual friendship and alliance with each other, and then proceeded to arrange for the conquest of France. (a) "Concerning the help to be given by the Duke of Burgundy for the recovery of the kingdom of France," 25 July. Rymer, XI, 806-7.]

Since the most famous realm of France is at present oppressed, alas ! by intolerable tyranny, so that no place is left for piety, right, justice or religion, but there appears everywhere robbery, violence, slaughter, treason, poisonings . . . all which things take their rise from Louis, usurper of the aforesaid realm . . . and since also it greatly concerns us that that kingdom shall be well and justly governed in the fear of God, especially by him to whom it belongs by hereditary right, that is, by the most excellent and powerful prince and lord our honourable brother Edward King of France and England . . . we make it known that we, desiring to help the people oppressed by the aforesaid Louis, and to exalt justice in the realm of France, whence it is exiled . . . have agreed . . . with the same lord our brother concerning these matters. . . .

First, the most serene lord Edward . . . for the recovery of his duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine and his realm of France, shall splendidly and fittingly equip and prepare himself and his army to the number of ten thousand armed men or more, to be transported . . . before the first day of the month of July next coming. . . .

Also that the most illustrious lord Charles . . . shall take . . . the King's part in person and with his army until he obtains the right and title which the lord King has and puts forward to the realm and crown of France. . . .

Also, that the lord King will not from henceforth negotiate with the aforesaid Louis, nor with anyone occupying or who shall in future occupy the realm and crown of France or any part of it, nor with any other person whatsoever representing Louis or the aforesaid persons, nor will he by any means hear ambassadors or messengers from them, nor reply to their letters, without the knowledge of the lord Duke; but as often as such an occasion arises, he will take care diligently to inform the lord Duke, who may then depute others to hear, understand and discuss, with the lord King or his deputies, whatever shall be put forward in the name of Louis or the aforesaid persons.

[Similar pledges are given by the Duke of Burgundy.]

[(b) Edward IV's assignment of the Duke of Burgundy's share of the spoils, 26 July. *Ibid.*, 811. From the French Roll.]

Desiring to show our gratitude to him from whom we have received and expect so many benefits . . . we . . . after mature deliberation of our Council, have granted, given up and handed over for ever to the aforesaid Duke Charles our brother, in recompense for the aforesaid, . . . the principalities, lands, dominions and rights which are written below. . . .

First, the duchy of Barrisi, commonly called Bar.

The county of Champagne.

The county of Nivernais, called in French Nevers.

The county of Rethell.

The county of Eu.

The county of Guise.

The barony of Douzi.

The city of Tournai, with the bailliwick, territory and district of Tournai.

The city of Langres, with the county, bailliwick and appurtenances.

The castle and town of Pequigny.

The towns and dominions on both sides of the river Somme formerly pledged to our brother. . . .

And, moreover, all the lands and dominions which Louis of Luxemburg, called Count of St. Pol, at present possesses; provided that they are not of the ancient demesne and patrimony of the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine or the crown of France.

All and singular which dominions . . . our aforesaid brother and his heirs and successors shall hold and possess for ever, free and exempt from us and our crown of France, with all right of superiority;

So that neither for the aforesaid dominions nor for the duchy of Burgundy nor by reason of the county of Flanders . . . or any other places and dominions whatsoever at present in our brother's possession, shall the same our brother and his heirs and successors ever be bound by any means to pay to us or our successors or any other person any homage, fee, service or oath of fealty; but they shall be true, sole, direct and supreme lords and princes in those their dominions, recognising and being bound to recognise no superior or superiors.

[(c) "That the King may be crowned and anointed at Rheims, notwithstanding the donation made to the Duke of Burgundy."
Ibid., 813-4. 27 July.]

Charles by the grace of God Duke of Burgundy. . . . Since . . . Edward by the grace of God King of France and England has granted . . . to us the county of Champagne. . . . And the Kings of France are accustomed, at their accession, to receive the crown and royal unction at Rheims, which is a city of Champagne, and belongs to us by virtue of the aforesaid donation. . . .

We make it known that we, desiring to please the aforesaid lord King our brother in this matter, have willed and consented . . . that he and his heirs and successors in the realm of France may, according to the custom of their ancestors and predecessors, receive the royal crown and unction in the aforesaid city of Rheims, and for the receiving of it have free and safe access, entry and departure, if they shall choose to be crowned there; and this without any prejudice to our rights either of superiority or otherwise, which we do not intend to diminish by this. . . .

And if the aforesaid lord our brother or his heirs and successors in the realm of France arrange to receive the crown and unction elsewhere in another city or town of that kingdom and not in Rheims, then we will and consent that they may carry away from the aforesaid city of Rheims the vessel or ampulla appointed for this purpose, but after the unction they shall be bound to restore this (since it is holy) to the usual place of custody ordained in the same city of Rheims.

66.

[Edward's negotiations with France, and preparations for war. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 18 August, 1474. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 267.]

A herald has been here from King Edward of England. . . . He has already been twice to very intimate discus-

sions with his Majesty, at which no one else was present but my lord of Concessault.¹ The subject of these discussions is a marriage alliance which King Edward asks for, between his daughter and my lord the Dauphin, showing that he is inclined to return again to those designs which were suggested upon other occasions against the Duke of Burgundy and for the ruin of his state. . . .

Notwithstanding all this, there comes most authentic news that these same English are equipping a great force all the same, and are already lading the artillery upon their ships. Accordingly many are led to make various conjectures, which resolve themselves into two suspicions: either that this King Edward suggests this marriage alliance as a sham and pretence so that he may afterwards be able to claim that he tried the way of peace and concord before war, and by this negotiation see to cooling and delaying the provisions and preparations of his Majesty against the English; or else that King Edward is proceeding sincerely in this alliance, owing to some hidden indignation and wrath he may have against the Duke of Burgundy, because of the constant incitement with which he stirs up the English people to make war on this kingdom to recover their ancient rights. And as King Edward is by his nature more inclined to quiet and peace than to war, many adhere to the latter opinion.

The purport of these transactions against the Duke of Burgundy is as follows: the King of France is to give to the English a part of Guienne or Normandy, on the understanding that they shall assist to destroy the Duke of Burgundy, and from the Duke's state the King will afterwards give the English an equivalent for what they claim pertains to them of this kingdom. The English will then give back to his Majesty what they hold of his, and further surrender to him all the rights which they claim over this kingdom.

¹ Sir William Monypeny.

[Edward secured himself on the northern frontier by a truce and marriage treaty with the King of Scotland. Rymer, XI, 825-7.]

This indentur maid at Edinburgh, the xxvi day of October, the zer of oure Lord God MCCCCLXXIV, witnesseth that, quhare amang certane appunctiments passit betueyn certane commissaris of the King of England of the o syde, and uthir send fro the King of Scotland of the othir syde, at Westmenstire, the xxx day of July last passit, concerning aliancez be waye of mariage betueyn the sonn and aier of Scotland and the zongest dochtir of the King of England, and uthir gud and resonnable conventions for the wele and prosperite of both the realms,

It wes in ane article expressit that the King of England suld send his ambassiatouris into Scotland, at the ferrest be the viii day of this month of October, for a perfite conclusionn to be takin and had in the samyn.

[English ambassadors were sent to Edinburgh and made with deputies of the King of Scotland the following treaty.]

Foralsmekil as this nobill ile, callit Gret Britanee, can nocht be kepit and mainteinit bettir in welth and prosperite than such thingis to be practizit and concludit betueyn the Kinges of boith the realmes of Scotland and England, quharby thai and thare subjectis micht be assoverit to lefe in peax, luf and tendirnes to grow and increse ymangis thame, it hath be agreit, accordit and concludit that, considerit the long continewyt trublis, discentions and debattis betuen the boith realmes, with gret and mortell werre that haith followit thar uppon, for the appeasing and setting apart of the samyn, a nerrar and a most especiale weye is to be fundin and had than only the trust of the trew and abstinence of werre that is nowe, or only uthir trew that couth be divisit betuix boith the parties.

Item, it is aggreit, accordit and concludit that the most convenient and next meyne to this, is to appoint and conclud upponn a mariage, to be maid betuix James the oonly first begottin sonne and aire of the richt hie and michti prince James King of Scotland and Cecile the zoungast dochtire of the richt excellent and michti prince Edward King of England, etc. . . .

It is aggreit and accordit that, for the moir souerte of boith the partys, the instant trewis, takin first at Zork, and than after prorogit and amplifyt at the toune of New-castell, the xii day of December, the zere of our Lord MCCCCLXV zeris, to indure unto the zere of our Lord MDXIX . . . sal be in substance affermit and ratifiet be uthir letters indentit, bering dat lik to this present.

[Neither King is to support the rebels of the other, but on demand is to give help against them. Since the prince is not yet two years old and the princess only four, so that no marriage can be contracted, the two Kings bind themselves to carry out the arrangement as soon as they reach the legal age.]

Item, it is appointit, accordit and concludit that, for the said mariage and doure, the said King of England sall gif, with his dochtir, to the King of Scotland, xx Mil. markis Inglis money, to be pait in this maner.

First, eftir the making and establishing of this convention, within thre monethis nixt enseuyng, two mil. markis Inglis, and every zere of two zeris than next folouyng . . . two mil. markis Inglis, and fra thyne furth zerli every zere a thousand mark Inglis. . . .

Item, it is forrhir in this part comonit . . . and accordit, that is to saye, in caise (that God forbeide) the zoung prince and princes befor nemit, or the on of thame, suld fortune to decese . . . zit, quhensoever the King of Scotland suld hap to have a sone his aier, the same that is now or uthir, and the King of England a dochtir of lik aige . . . the said tua Kingis sall do and procure, alsmekill as in

thame sal be, such two personns . . . to be maryt togiddir in maner and forme, and with all the appartences and charges before rehersit.

68.

[The expedition to France. Comines, I, 335-77. (French.) Comines was with the French King throughout this time, and was present at Pequigny.]

Now we must speak of the King of England, who brought his army to Dover to cross the sea to Calais; and this army was the greatest that ever a King of England brought over; and all the men were mounted, and the best appointed and armed that ever came to France; . . .

[The Duke of Burgundy's] army was so broken, so badly equipped and so poor, that he dare not show it them: for he had lost, before Neuss, four thousand mercenaries, and among them died the best men he had. . . .

When King Edward was at Dover, the Duke of Burgundy sent him, for his passage, full fifteen hundred boats from Holland and Zeeland, which are flat and low at the sides, and very suitable for carrying horses, and are called "sertes": and they came from Holland; and notwithstanding this great number, and all that the King of England could do, it took more than three weeks to cross between Dover and Calais, and it is only seven leagues: see how difficult it is for a King of England to cross to France. And if the King our master had understood warfare by sea as well as he understood land warfare, King Edward would never have crossed, at least that season; but he did not understand it at all.

[Edward sent a herald to the King of France with a letter of defiance, written "in fine language and good style, and I think no Englishman had written it". Louis pointed out to the herald that the season was already far advanced, that the Duke of Burgundy was in no position to help the English, and many other reasons to persuade Edward to make peace with him. The herald promised to work

for an agreement, and suggested that Louis should approach Lords Howard and Stanley. The Duke of Burgundy came to Edward at Calais with a very small company.]

The King of England departed from Calais, and the said Duke in his company, and passed by Boulogne and came to Peronne, where the said Duke received the English very badly: for he had the gates guarded, and only a small number entered, and they camped in the fields; and they could well do so, for they were well provided with all that they needed for this undertaking. . . .

The King of England . . . left Peronne, and the Duke of Burgundy, who had no men, with him: for they had all gone into Bar and Lorraine, as I have told you; and they approached St. Quentin, and a great number of Englishmen went on ahead, who, as I heard later, expected that the bells would ring at their coming, and the cross and holy water be carried out to meet them. As they approached the town, artillery began to fire, and skirmishers sallied out on foot and on horseback; and two or three English were killed, and several taken.

[The Duke of Burgundy then took leave of Edward. The English captured a gentleman of Louis' household, but set him free again, and Howard and Stanley bade him recommend them to his master. On hearing this, Louis sent a messenger to the English army.]

When our man arrived in the English host with his coat of arms on his back, he was at once arrested and taken before the King of England's tent. He said that he came from the King, to speak with the King of England, and that he was charged to address himself to my lords Howard and Stanley. When the King of England, who was dining when the herald arrived, rose from the table, the said herald was brought before him, and he heard him. His credence was founded on the desire that the King had long had to be friendly with him, and that the two kingdoms might live in peace, and that never, since he had

been King of France, had he made war or enterprise against the King or the kingdom of England; excusing himself concerning what the Earl of Warwick had formerly received, saying that this had only been against the Duke of Burgundy, and in no wise against him. Also he showed the King how the said Duke of Burgundy had only called him in because he thought to make a better treaty with the King by reason of his coming; and that if there were others who had a hand in the matter, it was only in order to try to improve their affairs and work for their private ends; . . . Also he drew his attention to the time of year, and that winter was already approaching; and that he well knew that he had incurred great expence, and that there were many people in England who desired war there, both nobles and merchants; and if it happened that the King of England was willing to endeavour to make a treaty, the King on his side would so arrange, that he and his realm should be well content; . . .

The King of England, and a party of his nobles, found these overtures very acceptable; and a safe conduct was given to our man [for French ambassadors] . . . and the next day, at a village near Amiens, the ambassadors met. . . .

The King . . . held a council about this matter, and I was present. Several were of opinion that this was only a deceit and a dissimulation on the part of the English. The King thought the contrary, and alleged the state of the time and the season, and that they had not got possession of a single place, and also the bad turns which the Duke of Burgundy had done them; and he had already departed from them; and was sure that the Constable [whom Edward had expected to join him] would not hand over any places: for the King sent to him hourly to keep him occupied and pacify him and keep him from doing ill. Also the King well knew the King of England's personal

characteristics, and that he was very fond of ease and pleasure. . . . And the King concluded that there was nothing in the world he would not do to get the King of England out of the realm, except that he would never on any account consent that they should have land; . . .

The Duke of Burgundy, hearing this news [of negotiations], came from before Luxemburg, where he was, in great haste, to the said King of England; and he had only sixteen horses when he reached him. The King of England was much taken aback at this sudden coming, and asked him what brought him; and knew very well that he was angry. The said Duke replied that he came to speak with him. The King asked him whether he wished to speak to him in private or in public. Then the said Duke asked him if he had made peace; the King of England replied that he had made a truce for nine years, in which he and the Duke of Brittany were included, and begged him to agree to it. The said Duke was furious, and spoke in English (for he knew the language); and quoted many great deeds that past kings of England had done in France, and the trouble they had taken to win honour there; and he censured this truce, saying that he had never sought to bring over the English for any need that he had of them, but to recover what belonged to them; and that they might know that he had no need of their coming, he would make no truce with our King until the King of England had been three months at home; and after these words, he left, and returned whence he had come. The King of England and those of his council took these words very ill. Others, who did not like this peace, praised what the Duke had said. . . .

Then it was decided that, to bring matters to a close, the place where the two kings should meet must be chosen, and people sent to inspect it. . . . We decided that the best and safest place was Pequigny, three leagues from

Amiens, a strong castle belonging to the Vidame of Amiens, though it had been burnt by the said Duke of Burgundy. The town is low, and the river Somme passes there, which is not fordable, and at this point is not wide. . . . Orders were given to make a bridge there, very strong and wide, and we provided carpenters and materials; and in the middle of this bridge was made a strong wooden trellis, such as is made for lions' cages; and the holes between the bars were only large enough to put one's arm through easily. The top was covered with planks only, on account of rain, far enough for ten or twelve persons to get underneath on each side. . . . In the river there was only one little boat, with two men, to carry across those who wished to go from one side to the other. . . .

Our barriers being thus made, as you have heard, the two kings came next day. . . . The King had about eight hundred men-at-arms with him, and arrived first. On the side where the King of England was, there was the whole of his army in battle array: and although we could not see the whole of it, yet we saw a marvellously great number of horsemen and footmen assembled. Those whom we had on our side appeared to be nothing beside them. . . . It had been arranged that there should be twelve men with each of the kings. . . .

The King of England came . . . very well accompanied, and he looked very much a king. With him were the Duke of Clarence, his brother, the Duke of Northumberland, and some other lords, his chamberlain, called my lord Hastings, his chancellor, and others; and only three or four were dressed in cloth of gold, like the King. The King wore a black velvet cap on his head, and in it there was a large fleur de lys set with stones. He was a very tall and handsome prince, but beginning to grow stout; and I had seen him look more handsome in former times, for I cannot remember ever having seen a handsomer man than

he was when my lord of Warwick drove him out of England. As he approached the barrier, four or five feet away, he took off his cap and bent his knee to within a few inches of the ground. The King, who was already leaning against the barrier, also made him a deep reverence. And as they were about to embrace each other through the holes, the King of England made another reverence. The King spoke first, and said: "Cousin, you are very welcome: there is no man in the world whom I desire to see so much as I desire to see you; and God be praised that we are met together here with such good purpose". The King of England replied suitably, in fairly good French.

Then the said Chancellor of England, a prelate, named the Bishop of Ely,¹ began to speak; and he began with a prophecy (with which the English are never unprovided), which said that in this place of Pequigny a great peace should be made between France and England; and afterwards were exhibited the letters which the King had sent to the said King of England, touching the treaty which was made; and the said Chancellor asked the King if he had ordered such letters, and if he agreed to them. To which the King answered yes, and also to those which were sent on the King of England's behalf. And then the missal was brought and opened, and the two Kings put each a hand upon it, and their other hands upon the True Cross; and both swore to keep what had been promised between them; that is to say the truce for nine years, including their allies, and to accomplish the marriage of their children, as it was contained in the said treaty. After the oath was sworn, our King, who was ready of speech, began to say to the King of England, laughingly, that he must come to Paris, and that he would entertain him with ladies; and that he would give him my lord the Cardinal of Bourbon as confessor, who would very

¹ A mistake for Lincoln.

willingly absolve him from sin, if he committed any. The King of England was delighted; and spoke smilingly, for he knew that the Cardinal was a good fellow.

When this talk had lasted for a little while, the King, who showed that he had authority in this gathering, made us and those who were with him draw back, telling us that he wished to speak to the King of England alone. Those with the King of England likewise retired, without waiting to be told. When the two Kings had spoken together for a little, the King called me, and asked the King of England if he recognised me. He answered yes, and mentioned the places where he had seen me; and that formerly I had taken much trouble to serve him at Calais, at the time when I was with the Duke of Burgundy. The King asked him if the Duke of Burgundy did not wish to keep the truce, because he had replied to it so haughtily, and what it would please him that he should do. The King of England answered that he should offer it to him again, and that if he would not accept it, it should be a matter for them both. Afterwards the King happened to speak of the Duke of Brittany, who was the man who had been the origin of this conversation, and made a similar request. The King of England answered that he begged him not to make war on the said Duke of Brittany, and that in his necessity he had never found so good a friend. The King was content with that; and with the most amiable and gracious words possible, recalling his company, he took leave of the King of England and said some gracious word to each of his people. And so they retired from the barrier simultaneously or almost so, and mounted their horses. The King went to Amiens, and the King of England to his host: to which was sent from the King's house all that they needed, even to torches and candles. The Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King of England, and some others, were not at this

discussion, being ill pleased with this truce; but afterwards they came back; and then the said Duke of Gloucester came to the King at Amiens, and the King made him very fine presents, as of vessels and horses well accoutred.

[Louis' bribes to English lords. *Ibid.*, p. 360.]

Sixteen thousand crowns were promised as pensions to the King of England's private officials: to my lord Hastings, two thousand crowns a year (he would never give a receipt for it); to the chancellor, two thousand marks; to Lord Howard, to the chief esquire, to Challenger, to my lord Montgomery and others attending him; and much money and silver vessels were given to King Edward's said servants.

69.

[Edward IV's provision against a rising in England while he was in France. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the Burgundian Court to the Duke of Milan, 26 July, 1475. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 292.]

His Majesty . . . has brought with him all of whom he had suspicion in the realm, even to the old Queen, wife of the late King Henry, whom he has left a prisoner at Calais.

70.

[Extracts from the documents known collectively as the Treaty of Pequigny, 29 August, 1475. Rymer, XII, 15-21. (Latin.)]

I. . . . First, we consent . . . that all suits, questions, complaints and demands at present pending undiscussed between us and the same our cousin of France aforesaid shall be entrusted to and arbitrated upon by the most reverend father Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, our uncle, and our dearest brother George Duke of Clarence, for us and our behalf, and the most reverend

Father Charles Archbishop of Lyons and John Count of Dunois for our said cousin and on his behalf . . . Promising and binding ourselves to abide by the decision, arbitrament and determination of the said arbiters upon the premisses, under penalty of three thousand thousand crowns on him who shall not abide by their said decision. . . .

Also, we will, promise, agree and conclude that, after we shall have received from our aforesaid cousin of France seventy-five thousand crowns . . . we will withdraw our army and the forces which we now have here with us, without deceit, altogether ceasing from war against our said cousin and his subjects. . . .

II. . . . We make it known that . . . we have concluded with the most illustrious prince Louis of France a good, sincere, true, firm and perfect truce, abstinence from war, league, understanding and confederation, between us, our realm of England, our countries and dominions, heirs, successors, vassals, subjects present and future, our allies and confederates whatsoever (who may wish to be included in this truce) and the aforesaid most serene prince Louis of France our dearest cousin, his countries and dominions . . . to endure for seven years next after the date of these presents.

[Each king appended a list of allies whose right to be included in the treaty he wished specially to reserve. Edward's list included the King of the Romans, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the Hanse towns ; Louis' list was headed by the Emperor.]

III. . . . That there shall be between the most illustrious prince the King of England and the most illustrious prince Louis of France his dearest cousin, a true, sincere and perfect amity, to endure from the date of these presents as long as either of the princes shall live ; so that, while they live, battles, wars and hostilities between them shall altogether cease. . . .

Also, that the aforesaid most illustrious prince of France shall help and assist the King of England against English subjects who shall invade in arms and make rebellion in his realm of England, countries or dominions: and in the same way the most serene king of England shall help and assist his said cousin of France against subjects who invade in arms and make rebellion in his countries and dominions.

Also, that neither of the said princes of England and France shall in any wise give or afford help or assistance to subjects of the other making armed invasion and open war against their prince in his countries and dominions; nor receive and uphold in his countries or dominions, to the prejudice of the other prince, such subjects so making invasion.

Also, if it shall happen that either of the said princes be expelled from his countries and dominions (which God forbid) by the guile, cunning and disobedience of a subject or subjects of either of them, and on this account ask help of the other prince, . . . that then that prince so required and appealed to shall receive the prince so expelled with all kindness, and uphold him and his with all his might . . . that he may be replaced in and restored to his own former estate. . . .

Also, that, within a year from the date of these presents, a new diet shall be instituted by the aforesaid princes, in which their legates and deputies shall appoint and settle such a system of reckoning and valuation of the lawful coin and money of either kingdom of England and France, that by it those kingdoms and the subjects of the said princes may the more abound in wealth and prosper the better to their common good. . . .

Also, for the inviolate observation of the said amity, it is concluded . . . between the aforesaid princes that a marriage shall be contracted between the most illustrious

prince Charles, son of the said most powerful prince of France, and the most serene lady Elizabeth, daughter of the said most invincible King of England, when they shall reach marriageable age. . . . And if it shall happen that the lady Elizabeth die before the aforesaid marriage is contracted, (which God forbid) that then a marriage shall be contracted between prince Charles and the most serene lady Mary, another daughter of the aforesaid King of England. . . .

IV. Louis, by the grace of God King of the French, to all who shall see these present letters, greeting. We make it known that we have granted, promised and bound ourselves . . . to pay and really and effectually to deliver to the most illustrious prince Edward, by the same grace King of England, our dearest cousin, every year, in the city of London, during the life of either of us, fifty thousand crowns of gold. . . .

We will pay and deliver, or cause to be paid and delivered, to the same our cousin the King of England, twenty-five thousand crowns of gold . . . at the feast of Easter next coming, and twenty-five thousand crowns of gold . . . at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next after that, and so, from year to year, we will pay and deliver . . . fifty thousand crowns of gold . . . at the said two terms of Easter and Michaelmas each year, by equal portions, as is aforesaid.

71.

[As a pendant to the Treaty of Pequigny, Louis XI ransomed Margaret of Anjou. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the Burgundian court to the Duke of Milan, 21 April, 1476. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 328.]

We hear that the King of France has bought, for 24,000 or 30,000 crowns, Queen Margaret of England, daughter of King René, widow of King Henry and prisoner of King Edward in England, and has fetched her to France,

it is supposed in order to get her to give up her claims to Provence as the daughter of King René.

72.

[The Duke of Burgundy's attitude to the Treaty of Pequigny. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the Burgundian court to the Duke of Milan, 22 October, 1475. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 316.]

By my last of the 22nd and 23rd August . . . I announced the negotiations of the English for an agreement with France, and that they had already sent to acquaint the Duke here with the proposed articles, of which I sent a copy. The Duke was in despair at their so basely making an agreement without drawing the sword, nor does he mean to be a party to this treaty, but to wage the war as he is doing, after joining his Burgundian men-at-arms.

He sent the Bishop of Tournai and three other Knights of the Golden Fleece as his ambassadors to the King of England, to endeavour to dissuade him from this peace, and assure him that they would obtain much better terms if they kept the field. Despite this the treaty has been made and the ambassadors were too late.

The King of England, to the great disgust of his kingdom, has returned with his army to England. He apologised to the Duke for the treaty, and expressed a wish to be friends. . . .

More than 2000 Englishmen have come to serve the Duke, who has accepted them, saying that he well knows they will be cutting one another's throats in England, and it will be better for them to fight against the French. In the opinion of intelligent persons there is likely to be disturbance in England, because the King exacted a great treasure and did nothing. The Duke here foments this all he can.

The King of France is trying his utmost to come to terms with the Duke. He got the King of England to

send an ambassador to his lordship to urge him to enter the truce for seven years, but the Duke made them a spirited reply such as they deserved for the deed done.

[In spite of his show of bravado, the Duke had already made a truce with France on 13 September. A letter from the same ambassador, dated 27 August ("Milanese Calendar," I, no. 301) reported that he could not refuse to accept the Treaty of Pequigny for fear of incurring English hostility by so doing, but that he would probably remain armed and behave haughtily in order to exact better terms from Louis XI.]

73.

[The end of the Duke of Clarence, 1476-7. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, pp. 561-2. (Latin.)]

This glory of the most prudent King was greatly disturbed by a fresh dissension again arising between him and his brother the Duke of Clarence. For it was noticed that gradually the Duke absented himself more and more from the King's presence, scarcely spoke a word in council, and would not willingly eat or drink in the King's house. Many attributed this falling off of earlier intimacy to the fact that the Duke had been angered because on the occasion of that general resumption which the King had lately made in Parliament, the Duke had lost the honour and lordship of Tutbury and many other lands which he had previously obtained by royal grant.

Meanwhile Charles Duke of Burgundy . . . fell in battle. . . . It was spread abroad after the death of this Charles that the Lady Margaret his widowed duchess, whose heart was set on her brother of Clarence above all other relatives, was working with all her powers and zeal that Mary, the only daughter and heiress of the said late Duke Charles, should be married to the Duke of Clarence, whose wife was lately dead. Such a projected exaltation of his ungrateful brother displeased the King. Wherefore he interposed what hindrances he could, so

that the projected marriage should not be carried into effect; but he favoured rather that the heiress should be given in marriage to Maximilian, son of the Emperor, as afterwards happened.

[John Stacy and Thomas Burdet, the latter a servant and friend of Clarence, were tried and executed on charges of sorcery. They died protesting their innocence.]

The following day the Duke of Clarence came into the council chamber at Westminster, bringing with him a renowned Doctor of the order of Friars Minor, Master William Godard, that he might rehearse before the lords assembled in council the aforesaid confession and declaration of innocence; he did so, and withdrew. The King was at this time at Windsor. And when this matter became known to him, the deed displeased him greatly; and recalling to his mind representations made to him against his brother, which he had long kept in his heart; the Duke was summoned to appear on a certain day in the royal palace of Westminster, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and the King with his own mouth began most vehemently to upbraid among other things the Duke's aforesaid deed, as censuring the laws of the realm and exceedingly dangerous to the judges and juries of the kingdom. So the Duke was placed in custody, and from that day until his death was never at liberty.

The mind shrinks from relating what followed in the next Parliament: the disputation held there between two brothers of such qualities seemed so sad. For no one spoke against the Duke, except the King; no one answered the King, except the Duke. Some persons were produced, concerning whom it was very doubtful whether they performed the office of accusers or witnesses. For both offices at once are not suited to the same persons in the same case. The Duke accounted for all the charges

by corruption, offering if he might be heard, to maintain his cause with his body. Why am I so lengthy? Parliament, holding the information it had heard to be sufficient, formulated sentence of condemnation against him, which was to be pronounced by the mouth of Henry Duke of Buckingham, newly created Seneschal of England for the time being. Afterwards execution was delayed for a while, until such time as the Speaker of the Commons, coming with his fellows into the upper House, should have made a fresh petition for the accomplishment of the matter: and consequently within a few days the thing was done secretly, whatever was the manner of execution, within the Tower of London. . . .

After this act many people left the King fully persuaded that he could rule his whole realm according to his will, all those idols being now destroyed, to whose faces the eyes of the people, ever desirous of new things, were in times past accustomed to turn. They considered as such idols the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, and any other great person in the kingdom who withdrew himself from the King's intimacy. But the King although secretly repenting of his deed (as I think), yet from that time forward filled his office so magnificently that he seemed to be dreaded by all the people, he himself fearing no one. For his most trusted servants were scattered through all parts of the kingdom, as keepers of castles, manors, forests and parks, and nothing could be attempted by any man whatsoever, no matter how cunningly, in any part of the kingdom, which was not immediately and openly resisted.

74.

[The death of the Duke of Clarence, 18 February, 1478. Kingsford p. 188.]

Also the xviiith day of february was George, Duke of Clarence and brother unto kyng Edward, put to the deth with yn the Tower as prisoner. Drowned in malvesay.

75.

[The policy of Louis XI towards England after the death of the Duke of Burgundy in 1477 in his war against the Swiss. Louis at once seized Burgundy, Artois, Picardy, and other parts of Charles' dominions. The heiress Mary of Burgundy then married Maximilian, son of the Emperor, who championed her rights. Louis' aim was to keep England from actively supporting her. Cominès, "*Mémoires*," II, 166-73.]

[The King of France] attempted especially, amongst all his other affairs, to content the King of England, or to occupy him by embassies, presents, and fair words, so that he should not interfere with our affairs. For the said lord well knew that the English, both nobles, commons and churchmen, are always inclined to war against this realm. . . . And so the said lord saw clearly that he must come to an agreement with the said King of England and with those about him, whom he knew were inclined to make peace and to take the good things he had to offer: therefore he regularly paid the pension of fifty thousand crowns which he delivered to them at London, and they called it tribute; and to his most intimate servants he paid some sixteen thousand; that is to say to the Chancellor,¹ to the Master of the Rolls² (who is now Chancellor), to the great Chamberlain, Lord Hastings (a man of good sense and virtue, and of great authority with his master, and not without cause: for he had served him well and loyally), to Sir Thomas Montgomery, to Lord Howard (who afterwards became, under that bad King Richard, Duke of Norfolk), to the great esquire, called monsieur Cheney, to Master Challengier, to the marquis, son of the Queen of England by a former marriage, and gave very great gifts to all those who came to him. . . . He had given presents to all these, besides their pensions: and I am sure that in

¹ Bishop Rotherham of Lincoln.

² John Morton, Bishop of Ely in 1479.

less than two years he gave my lord Howard, besides his pension, twenty-four thousand crowns, what with money and plate : and to the chamberlain, lord Hastings, he gave at a single gift a thousand marks of silver in plate. And the receipts of all these personages are in the exchequer at Paris, save those of Lord Hastings, great chamberlain of England. . . .

Thus did our King live with the English : however the King of England was often asked and importuned for help by the supporters of this young princess [the Duchess Mary of Burgundy] ; and presently the said King of England sent to the King to remonstrate with him in this matter and to urge him to make peace, or at least a truce. For there were in his council, and especially in his Parliament (which is like the Three Estates) many wise and far-seeing men, who had no pensions as the others had. These, and also the Commons, greatly desired that the King of England would help the said lady ; and said that people here were deceiving them, and would not complete the marriage ; and that that was plain ; for in the treaty made at Pequigny between the two kings, it had been sworn and promised that within a year they would send to fetch the King of England's daughter, whom they had already styled "madame la Dauphine," and that the fixed time was long past.

Whatever remonstrance his subjects made to him, he would not pay any attention to it, for several reasons. He was a corpulent man and greatly loved pleasure and could not have borne the burden of war here, and to see himself attacked by great adversities. On the other hand avarice of the fifty thousand crowns, paid every year in his castle in London, softened his heart : and also when his ambassadors came, they were so well entertained and given so many fine presents that they went away content, and no answer was ever made to them, so as always to

gain time ; but they were told that in a little while the King would send great personages to the King their master, who would give him such assurance in the matters about which he was in doubt that he should be well satisfied.

And so . . . the King sent, and always people who had never been with the previous embassy, so that if the former had made some overture, the effect of which had not been followed up, these would not know what answer to make. And thus those who went there took pains in every way to give such surety in France to the said King of England, that he would still have patience and not move: for he and the Queen his wife so greatly desired this marriage, that that, with the other reasons I have mentioned, made him dissimulate that which a party of those in his council said was to the great harm of his kingdom. . . . For without doubt, had it not been for the hope of the said marriage, the King of England would never have allowed him to take places so near him [Arras, Boulogne, Hesdin and Ardres] without attempting to defend them: and if, at the beginning, he had declared for the said lady of Burgundy, the King, who feared to put things in doubt and to the venture, would not have weakened this house of Burgundy so greatly as he did.

76.

[France and Scotland. Letter from the Milanese ambassador at the French court to the Duke of Milan, 29 October, 1480. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 368.]

The Scots have attacked the English, and I think it is the handiwork of the king here, in order that others may have to think more of their own affairs than of those of others. I am confirmed in this opinion because I chance to have seen a letter of the King of Scotland to the king here, in which he advises him that the English . . . had made an incursion into his country, but his people

had forthwith cast them out. . . . In conclusion, he asks for one or two gunners or bombardiers and some artillery, saying that he has need of both. This makes me practically certain that the king here has a hand in it, since he asks him for help against the English, who are in league and close affinity with his Majesty.

77.

[The Scottish war. Polydore Vergil's "Historie of England" (C.S.), pp. 169-70. In June, 1480, James III's intriguing brother the Duke of Albany promised, if England would aid him to win the Scottish throne, to do all that Edward Balliol had done.]

The Scottishe king . . . brake treuce with England, and molestyd the borders therof with suddaine incursions; wherfor King Edward, with great indignation, determynyd to make warre uppon Scotland; yeat afterward, whan King James excusyd the fact as doone by the arrogancy of soome his subjectes without his pryvytie, the matter might have bene easily appeasyd, yf in thend King Edward had not bene laboryd by King James owne broother to enterpryse the same warre: for King James, being a man of sharp wytt, and trusting more than mete was to his owne head and opynyon, gave lyttle care to good advyse; and because he wold not be fownd fawlt withall, he therfore tooke to be his councellers men of meane caulng, and becam so offensyve to the nobyltye by appeaching soome dayly of haynous crymes, and punishing others by the purse, that he causyd them ether to go willingly in exyle, or fayning soome busynes, to fly soome other wher. Of which number was his brother, Alexander Duke of Albany, who, as he travalyd into France, taryng with King Edward, ceassyd not to incense him to revenge his honor, and augment his desire that way. Therfor whan Kinge Edward had in mynde, as sayd ys, to revenge the late injurie, and was also eggyd on to armes by the

Duke, who promysyd great ayd, he fynally determynyd with good will so to do, both because King James, besydes the late breache of treuce, had relevyd King Henry the VIth and those of his faction with all thinges necessary, and also for that he had good hope the Duke wold be faythfull unto hym, yf, his brother being expulsyd, he might enjoy the crowne ; and therfore he addressyd furthwith agaynst the Scottes, Richerd his brother, Duke of Glocester, Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Stanley, and the said Duke of Albany, with an army royall. King James the meane whyle advertysyd of thinglishe mens approche, furnisshyd furthwith in readynes suche forces as he presently could levy, and going agaynst his enemyes, cam unto Berwicke for defence of hys borders ; but whan he understoode that the Englishe men excedid him both in force and number, and perceavyd also that his owne soldiers was scarce well to be trustyd, removing therfor abowt midnight, he retyryd to Edenbrough, ther to abyde thennemy. The Duke of Glocester, entring Scotland, wastyd and burryd all over the countrie, and marchyng further into the land, encampyd himself not farre from his enemyes ; whan as, perceaving that not one man of all the Scottishe nation resortyd to the Duke of Albany, he suspected treason, not without cause ; wherfor he tooke treuce with King James, and returnyd the right way to Berwicke, which in the meane time Thomas Lord Stanley had woone, without losse of many [of] his men. And King James, whose subjectes bare him no good will, was forcyd by ne[ces]sitie, after treuce taken, to disgest that displeasure of winning the towne.

[The Scottish nobles revolted against James III and rendered him powerless, and won over Albany from the English. They then offered Edward favourable terms, which were accepted. Albany soon renewed his intrigues and was obliged to flee to England, but after Edward IV's death he was powerless.]

[Mary of Burgundy died in 1482, and the struggle between France and Burgundy was then ended by the Treaty of Arras, by which the daughter of Mary and Maximilian was to marry the Dauphin, the lands seized by Louis XI being regarded as her dowry. The treaty was both injurious and insulting to Edward IV, but he died before he had time to give active expression to his displeasure. Comines, "*Mémoires*," II, 235-6. (French.)]

I must come to the conclusion of the treaty of marriage made between our present King, then called the Dauphin, and the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Austria, by the people of Ghent, to the great displeasure of the King of England, who considered himself deceived of the hope of the marriage of his daughter with the Dauphin, now king of France: and he and the Queen his wife had desired this marriage more than anything in the world, and would never believe anyone who warned them of the contrary, whether their own subjects or others: for the council of England had remonstrated with him several times, when the King was conquering Picardy, which is near Calais, and told him that if he should conquer that district, he would certainly try to conquer Calais and Guines. The ambassadors who were continually in England on behalf of the Duke and Duchess of Austria, and the Bretons and others, told him as much; but he would believe nothing of all this, and took it very ill. But I firmly believe that he did not act so much from ignorance as from avarice, so as not to lose the fifty thousand crowns that the King gave him, nor to leave his ease and his pleasures, to which he was greatly addicted.

79.

[The death of Edward IV. Kingsford, p. 189.]

This yere [1483] dyed kyng Edward the IIIIth at Westmynster, the ix day of Aprill, when he had raygned xxii yere. . . . And from Westmynster the corps was caried solempnely unto Wyndesor, and there buried, where before he had provided his buryell. Upon whos sowle God have mercy.

80.

[The Duke of Gloucester's behaviour. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, p. 565. (Latin.)]

The Duke of Gloucester wrote most kind letters to console the Queen; he promised attendance, obedience, fealty, and his whole duty to his king and lord Edward V, eldest son of his dead brother the King and of the Queen. And so coming to York with a fitting retinue, all clothed in mourning garb, he celebrated the King's solemn and tearful obsequies. He compelled all the nobility of those parts to take the oath of fealty to the King's son: and he himself swore first of all.

81.

[The Duke of Gloucester and Edward V. Kingsford, pp. 189-90.]

And anoon aftir [Edward IV's] deth Edward his son, than beyng abowte the age of xii yer, undir the guydyng of his uncle by the moders side, callid lord Marquys Dorset, was proclaymed kyng by the name of Edward the Vth. And comyng to London ward, awaytyng upon hym the said lord Marques with other dyvers gentilmen, at a towne named Stonyng Stratford met with hym the Duke of Glowcetir, the Duke of Bokyngham, with a greate company, and anoon dischargid the lord Marques and suche as were abowte the kyng, and took the guydyng of hym theym silf. And so from thens brought hym unto London;

and the iiiith day of May he cam thurgh the cite, flet and met by the Mayr and the citezeins of the cite at Harnsy park, the kyng ridyng in blew velvet, and the Duke of Glowcetir in black cloth, like a mourner; and so he was conveid to the Bysshoppys palaes in London, and there logid. And Quene Elizabeth was in Westmynster in sayntuary, with the Duke of York and the remenaunt of her childer, beyng doughters.

82.

[The Duke of Gloucester made Protector, May, 1483. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, p. 566. (Latin.)]

The said Richard Duke of Gloucester took upon himself that solemn office which formerly belonged to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester during the minority of King Henry, that he should be called Protector of the realm. Therefore he used that authority by the consent and goodwill of all the lords, issuing orders and prohibitions in all matters like another King, as circumstances required. And the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist¹ being fixed as the day on which the coronation of the aforesaid King should without fail be performed, all men hoped for and expected the peace and prosperity of the kingdom.

83.

[Gloucester's proceedings, June, 1483. Hastings was executed on 13 June, and the Duke of York was taken to the Tower three days later. Kingsford, p. 190.]

The Duke of Glowcetir went to Westmynster, and took with hym tharchebisshop of Caunterbury; where by fayre means, and for trust that the Quene had in tharchebisshop, which said Bisshop thought nor entended none harme, she delyvered to theym the Duke of York, a child abowte the age of vii yere; whom the said Duke conveyed unto the Tower, and there caused hym to be kept with the

¹ 24 June.

prynce, his brother. And this doon, was provicion made for the coronacion of the kyng, which men demed to have been the eldest son of kyng Edward the IIIth. And this tyme of provysion for the coronacion was the lord Ryvers, which before tyme had the prynce in gudyng, the lord Richard the Queenes son, and Thomas Vaughan, with Richard Hawte, knyghtes, beheded at Pounfret.¹ And the xiiith day of Jun the Duke of Glowceter, sodeynly with oute judgement, cawsid the lord Hastynges, Chamberlayne of England, to be beheded within the Tower. And forthwith sent the Bisshoppis of Ely and York in to Walys, there to have been prysoned.

84.

[The Duke of Gloucester summons men from the north to aid him against the Queen and her party, 15 June, 1483. Davies, "York Records," pp. 151-4.]

. . . For as moch as my lord of Gloucestre gude grace hath writtyn to the Cite [of York] whow that the Qwhen and hyr adherantes intendyth to distrew hys gude grace, and odir of the blod riall, it [is] agreid [by the mayor and aldermen] that Thomas Wrangwysh, William Wells, Robert Hancok, John Hag, Richard Merston and William White, with CC horsmen, defensably arayd, shall ryd upp to London to asyst my said lord gude grace.

[Richard's proclamation read in York on 19 June.]

Richard, Brodyr and Unkill of Kynges, Duce of Gloucestre, Protectour . . . streitly charges and commandes that all maner of men, in their best defensabill araie, incontenent aftir this proclamation maid, do rise and on up to London to his highnes . . . ther to aide and assist hym to the subdewyng correctyng and punysshyng of the Whene, here blode, and othir hyr adherentes, which haith intendyd, and dayly doith entend, to murther and utterly

¹ 25 June.

distroi his roiall person, his cosyn the duke of Bukkyngham, and other of the old roiall blode of this realme, and also the nobill men of their companyes, and as it is notably knawn, by mony subtile and dampnabill ways forcastyd the same, and also the speciall distruction and disheryson of theym, and of all other thenheritors and men of haveour, as weill of theis North parties as of other contrees that belongen to tham, and therefor in all deligence prepare yourself and come up, as ye love their honours weles and surties, and the surties of yourself and the common weil of this said realme.

85.

[Events after Hastings' execution, down to the coronation of Richard III, 13 June-6 July. "The Great Chronicle of London," ff. 207-8.]

Then was tharchbyssshop of York doctour Rotherham and the Bysshopp of Ely doctour Morton sett in a suyrte for a tyme. And fforthwyth were a Crewe of men Arerid In the North, and Commaundid to spede theym toward london. And afftyr this were the prince and the duke of York holdyn more streygh And than was pryvy talkyng In london that the lord Protectour shuld be kyng. Accordyng wherunto upon the Soneday¹ next ffolowyng the daye of excecucion of the lord Hastynges, at Paulys Crosse beyng present the said lord protectour And the duke of Bukkyngham wyth a huge Audience of spirituell and Temporall, was there Declarid by Doctour Rauff Shaa brother unto this mayer, And provid by such Reasons as he there and then made that the Childyr of Kyng Edward were not Rightfull enherytours unto the Crowne, And that kyng Edward was not the legytymat sone of the Duke of York as the lord protectour was By the which declaracion and othir many allegacions and obprobrious Reportes he then alledgyd That the lord protectour was

¹ 22 June, the second Sunday after Hastings' execution.

moost worthy to be kyng and noon othir. The which sermon soo dyscontentid the more party of that Audience, that where the said doctour Shaa before dayes was accomptid moost ffamous and moost allowyed In the Common peplys meyndys, he afftyr this daye was lytill Reputid or Regardyd. . . . Than upon the Tuysday next ensuyng the fforesaid Soneday, The duke of Bukkyngham cam unto the Guyld-halle, where agayn his commyng The mayer with his brethir, And a ffayer multitude of Cytyzys In theyr lyvereys were Assemblyd, To the whiche Assemble the said duke than made an Oracion In Rehercyng the grete excellency of the lord protectour and the manyfold vertuys which God hadd endowid hym with, And of the Rightfull Tytle which he hadd unto the Croune, That it lastid a good half howyr, And that was soo well and eloquently uttyrd And with soo Angelyk a contenance, And every pauze and tyme soo well ordorid, That such as hard hym mervaylid and sayd that nevyr to ffore that daye hadd they hard any man lernyd or unlernyd make such a Rehersayll or oracion as that was. The which when he had ffynysshid, and goodly exortid the sayd Assemble to admytt the said lord protectour ffor theyr lyege lord and kyng, and they to satysfye his myend more ffor ffere than ffor love, Cryed In small numbyr Ye Ye, He soo departid. Wheruppon The thurs[day] next ensuyng (beyng the xix day off June¹) the sayd lord protectour took possescyon At Westmynstyr In the grete halle, where he beyng sett In the kynges cheyer or place where alle kynges take ffyrst possescion, The duke of Norffolk syttyng upon his Right hand that beffore dayes was callid lord Howard, And upon his lyfftylly hand the duke of Suffolke he callid beffore hym the Juges Commaundyng theym In Right streygth maner that they Justly and duly shuld mynystir his lawe withowth delay

¹ 26 June.

or ffavour. Afftyr which Commandement soo to theym govyn and othyr Ceremonyes there ffynysshid, he than yood In to the Abbay where at the chirch dore he was mett wyth procescion, And by the Abbot or hys Depute there delyvered to hym the Ceptre of Seynt Edward, he then yood unto the Shryne and there offyrd, And then was conveyed Into the Quere and there was sett while Te Deum was ffeynydly sungyn by the munkys, Afftyr which Ceremonyes thus ffynyd, he Retournyd Into the kynges Palays and there was lodgid. . . . Then was hasty provicion made ffor his Coronacion, Soo that upon the vith daye of Julii he and Quene Anne his wyfe were at oon Messe Solempnely Crownyd, and afftyr was the ffest Accustomyd wyth alle Cyrcumstances therunto belonging kept In Westmynstir halle. The which ffest soo beyng ffynysshid The kyng sent hoom the lordys Into theyr Cuntrees, holdyng wyth hym styll therle of Derby (the lord Stanley) ffor a seson, And alsoo unto such as went hoom he gave streyghth Comandementes that they shuld see the Cuntrees where they dwellid well guydid and that noon extorcions were doon to hys Subgetes. And thus he tawgth othyr to excercyse Just and good which he wold not do hym sylf.

86.

[Act of Parliament settling the crown upon Richard III and his descendants. R.P., VI, 240-2. The act recites that a large number of lords and commons had "on the behalve and in the name of the thre Estates of this Reame" presented a petition to Richard, to which he had assented. These persons, however, were not "assembled in fourme of Parliament," which has caused doubts to arise. The petition is now ratified by Parliament and entered on the Parliament Roll. It begins with an account of the peace and prosperity of the realm under former kings who "used and followed the advice and counsaill of certaine Lords Spirituelx and Temporelx, and othre personnes of approved sadnesse, prudence, policie and experience". Later rulers "folowed the counsaill of

personnes insolent, vicious, and of inordinate avarice . . . soo that felicity was turned into miserie, and prosperite into adversite."

This state of things was at its worst after the marriage of Edward IV]:—

And here also we considere, howe that the seid pretended Mariage bitwixt the above named King Edward and Elizabeth Grey, was made of grete presumption, without the knowyng and assent of the Lords of this Lond, and also by Sorcerie and Wichecraft, committed by the said Elizabeth, and her Moder Jaquett Duchesse of Bedford. . . . And here also we consider, howe that the said pretended Mariage was made privaly and secretely, without Edition of Banns, in a private Chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church, afre the Lawe of Godds Church, bot contrarie thereunto, and the laudable Custome of the Church of Englund. And howe also, that at the tyme of contract of the same pretended Mariage, and before and longe tyme after, the seid King Edward was and stode maryed and trouth plight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, Doughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said King Edward had made a precontracte of Matrimonie, longe tyme before he made the said pretended Mariage . . . it appeareth and foloweth evidently, that the said King Edward duryng his lif, and the seid Elizabeth, lived together sinfully and dampnably in adultery. . . . Also it appeareth evidently and followeth, that all th' Issue and Children of the seid King Edward been Bastards and unable to inherite or to clayme any thing by Inheritance, by the Lawe and Custome of Englund.

Moreover we considre, howe that afterward, by the thre Estates of this Reame assembled in a Parliament holden at Westminster, the xvijth yere of the Regne of the said King Edward the IIIIth . . . by an Acte made in the same Parliament, George Duc of Clarence, Brother to the said King Edward nowe decessed, was convicted and atteinted of

High Treason . . . by reason wherof, all the Issue of the said George was and is dishabled and barred of all Right and Clayme that in any wise they might have or challenge by Enheritance, to the Crown and Dignite Roiall of this Reame, by the auncien Lawe and Custome of this same Reame.

Over this we considre, howe that Ye be the undoubted Son and Heire of Richard late Duke of Yorke, verray enheritour of the seid Crowne and Dignite Roiall, and as in right Kyng of Englund, by wey of Inheritaunce; and that at this tyme, the premisses duely considered, there is noon other persoune lyvyng but Ye only, that by Right may clayme the said Coroune and Dignite Royall by way of Enheritaunce, and howe that Ye be born within this Lande; by reason whereof . . . Ye be more naturally enclyned to the prosperite and commen wele of the same; and all the thre Estatis of the Lande have, and may have, more certayn knowlage of youre Byrth and Filiation abovesaid. Wee considre also the greate Wytte, Prudence, Justice, Princely Courage, and memorable and laudable Acts in diverse Batalls, whiche as we by experience knowe Ye heretofore have done, for the salvacion and defence of this same Reame. . . .

Wherefore . . . we . . . choise You, high and myghty Prynce, into oure Kyng and Soveraigne Lorde etc., to whom we knowe for certayn it apperteygneth of Enheritaunce soo to bee chosen. And herupon we humbly desire, pray, and require youre seid Noble Grace, that accordyng to this Eleccion of us the Thre Estates of this Lande, as by youre true Enherritaunce, ye will accepte and take upon You the said Crown and Royall Dignite . . . so that, after great cloudes, troubles, stormes and tempestes, the Son of Justice and Grace may shyne uppon us, to the comforte and gladnesse of all true Englishmen.

Albeit that the Right, Title and Estate whiche oure

Souveraigne Lorde the Kyng Richard the Third hath to and in the Crown . . . is grounded upon the Lawes of God and of Nature, and also upon the auncien Lawes and laudable Customes of this said Reame. . . . Yit neverthesse, forasmoeche as it is considred, that the most parte of the people of this Lande is not suffisantly lerned in the abovesaid Lawes and Customes, wherby the trueth and right in this behalf of liklyhode may be hyd, and nat clerely knowen to all the people, and thereupon put in doubt and question. And over this, howe that the Courte of Parliament is of suche auctorite, and the people of this Lande of suche nature and disposicion, as experience teacheth, that manifestacion and declaration of any trueth or right, made by the Thre Estates of this Reame assembled in Parliament, and by auctorite of the same, maketh, before all other thyngs, moost feith and certaynte; and, quietyng mens myndes, remoeveth the occasion of all doubts and seditious langage. Therefore . . . bee it pronounced, decreed and declared, that oure said Sovereign Lorde the Kyng was, and is, veray and undoubted Kyng of this Reame of Englund . . . as well by right of Consanguinite and Enheritaunce, as by lawefull Elleccion. . . . And . . . that the said Crown . . . rest and abyde in the persoune of oure said Sovereign Lorde the Kyng, duryng his Lyff, and, after his Decesse, in his heires of his Body begotten. And in especiall . . . that the High and Excellent Prynce Edward, Son of oure said Sovereign Lorde the Kyng, be Heire Apparant . . . to succede to hym.

87.

[Letter from the Bishop of St. David's to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury. "Christ Church Letters" (C.S.), p. 46. August? 1483.]

I trust to God sune, by Michelmasse, the Kyng shal be at London. He contents the people wher he goys

best that ever did prince; for many a poor man that hath suffred wrong many days have be relevyd and helpyd by hym and his commands in his progresse. And in many grete citeis and townis were grete summis of mony gif hym which he hath refusyd. On my trouth I lykyd never the condicions of ony prince so wel as his; God hathe sent hym to us for the wele of us al.

88.

[The Princes in the Tower. (a) "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, pp. 566-8. (Latin.)]

They came in a boat to Westminster with a great multitude with swords and staves; and compelled the Lord Cardinal of Canterbury with many others to enter the sanctuary, in order to appeal to the Queen's goodwill, that she would allow her son Richard Duke of York to go out and come to the Tower for the comfort of the King his brother. She, willingly assenting by words, sent the boy, who was taken by the said Lord Cardinal to the King in the said Tower of London. . . .

[Richard III, after his coronation] departed from the royal city of London¹: and journeying by Windsor, Oxford and Coventry, at length rested at York. There on the day appointed for his second coronation² in the Metropolitan Church, his only son Edward was shown publicly and on the same day he made him Prince of Wales, with insignia of a golden staff and a circlet on his head. And he made and organised ostentations and most sumptuous festivals and banquets, to entice the affections of the people to himself. . . .

In the meantime and while these things were going on, the aforesaid two sons of King Edward remained in the Tower of London under certain appointed guard, and the people of the southern and western parts of the kingdom

¹ 22 or 23 July.² 8 September.

began to murmur greatly for their release from captivity, and to make gatherings and assemblies; and many were known to be working secretly, and some openly, for this end, especially those who for fear were scattered in franchises and sanctuaries. Also there was a rumour, that it was said by those men who had fled to sanctuary, that several of the King's daughters had departed from Westminster in disguise to places beyond the sea, so that if anything happened to the said boys in the Tower, nevertheless by the safety of the daughters the kingdom might hereafter return to the true heirs. . . .

And when at length the people all round the City of London, in Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire and Berkshire, and many other southern counties of the realm, began to think of avenging the aforesaid matters, public proclamations having been made that Henry Duke of Buckingham, who at that time was staying at Brekenok in Wales, repenting of his deed, was chief leader in this matter, it was spread abroad that King Edward's said sons were dead, by what manner of violent death it was unknown. Wherefore all those who had begun that disturbance . . . bethought them of Henry Earl of Richmond, who had now dwelt as an exile in Brittany for many years.

[(b) Speech by the Chancellor of France at the opening of the States-General at Tours, 15 January, 1484. Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France: "Journal des Etats, Généraux," 1484, pp. 36-8. (Latin.)]

If I wished to bring forward special proofs of your love to your prince and the treachery of others, a whole day would not be sufficient for me. It will be enough to cite the example of the neighbouring English. Behold, I pray you, what happened in that land after the death of King Edward, how his children, already full-grown and noble, were put to death with impunity, and the royal

crown transferred by the favour of the people to their murderer.

[(c) More's "History of King Richard III," ed. Lumby, pp. 80-4.]

As [Richard] finished his time with the beste death, and the most righteous, that is to wyt his own; so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innoocent nephewes, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune hath the natheles so far comen in question, that some remain yet in doubt, whither they were in his dayes destroyde or no. . . . I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so hard by suche men and by such meanes, as me thinketh it wer hard but it should be true. King Richarde after his coronacion takyng his way to Gloucester . . . forasmuch as his minde gave him that, his nephewes living, men woulde not reckon that hee could have right to the realm, he thought therfore without delay to rid them. . . . Whereuppon he sent one John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbery constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same Sir Robert shoulde in any wise put the two children to death. . . . Who plainely answered that he would never putte them to death to dye therfore, with which answer Jhon Grene returning recounted the same to Kynge Richarde at Warwick. . . . Wherefore on the morow he sent [Sir James Tyrrel] to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commaunded to deliver Sir James all the kayes of the Tower for one night, to the ende he might there accomplish the kinges pleasure, in such thing as he had geven him commaundement. After which letter delivered and the kayes received, Sir James appointed the night nexte ensuing to destroy them, devysing before and preparing the meanes. . . . For Sir James

Tirel devised that thei shold be murthered in their beddes. To the execucion wherof, he appointed Miles Forest, one of the foure that kept them, a felowe fleshed in murther before time. To him he joyned one John Dighton, his own horsekeper, a big brode square strong knave. Then al the other beeing removed from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the sely children lying in their beddes) came into the chamber, and sodainly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them, keping down by force the fetherbed and pillowes hard unto their mouthes, that within a while smored and stifled, theyr breath failing, thei gave up to God their innocent soules into the joyes of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodyes dead in the bed. Whiche after that the wretches parceived, first by the struggling with the paines of death, and after long lying styll, to be throughly dead ; they laide their bodies naked out uppon the bed, and fetched Sir James to see them Which upon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heape of stones. . . . Very trouthe is it and well knowen, that at such time as Syr James Tirell was in the Tower, for treason committed agaynste the moste famous prince king Henry the seventh, bothe Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murther in maner above writen.

89.

[The Duke of Buckingham's rebellion, October, 1483. Polydore Vergil's "Historie" (C.S.), pp. 194-201. Polydore says that the cause of the Duke's rebellion was his anger at the King's refusal to give him the half of the old Bohun inheritance which had passed to the Crown.]

The duke thus affectyd accompanied king Richerd not long after as he journeyed towards Yorke unto Glocester,

from thence with his consent he repayred into Wales, wher a great part of his lyvings lay. Heare the while of his tary, provokyd partly by freshe memory of the late receavyd injury, partly repenting that hitherto of himself hee had not resystyd king Richardes evell enterpryse . . . he resolvyd to seporate himself from him . . . and so he began to discover his intent to John bishop of Ely, whom . . . he had in Brechnoch castle. . . . The duke unfoldyd all thynges to the bisshop of Ely, and dyscoveryd himself wholly, showing how he had devysyd the meane wherby both the bloode of king Edward and of Henry the Sixt that yeat was remaining, being conjoynyd by affinitye, might be restoryd to the domynion dew unto both ther progenyes. The meane was this, that Henry erle of Richemond . . . might be sent for in all hast possyble, and assystyd with all that they might do, so that he wold promyse before by solemne othe, that after he had once obtaynyd the kingdom he wold take to wyfe Elyzabeth, king Edwards eldest dawghter.

The bishop of Ely alowyd as well the dukes devyse as the maner of performing the same, and procuryd one Renold Bray, servant to Margaret erle Henry his mother . . . to coome unto the duke into Wales, and his pleasure knowen to returne spedely unto the said Margaret, and certify hir of all thinges which had bene deliberyd betwixt him and the duke. . . .

Now before the duke all in a rage had begun to be alyenate in mynde from king Richerd, the same very time a plot of new conspiracy was layd at London betwixt Elyzabeth the quene, wyfe to king Edward, and Margaret mother to erle Henry, in this sort: this Margaret for want of health usid thadvyse of a physition namyd Lewys, a Welshman born. . . . And she, being a wyse woman, after the slaughter of king Edwardes children was knowen, began to hope well of hir soones fortune, supposing that

that dede wold withowt dowt proove for the profyt of the commonwelth, yf yt might chaunce the bloode of king Henry the Sixth and of king Edward to be intermenglyd by affynytie, and so two most pernicious factions should be at once, by conjoynyng of both the howses, utterly taken away. Wherfor . . . she utteryd to Lewys that the time was now coom when as king Edwardes eldest dowghter might be geaven in maryage to hir soon Henry, and that king Rycherd . . . might easily be dejectyd from all honor and bereft the realme, and therfor prayd him to deale secretly with the quene of suche affayre; for the quene also usyd his head. . . . Lewys . . . made up the matter easily betwyxt the two women. . . . Thus Margaret being browght in good hope apoyntyng Raynold Bray her servyteur, a man most faythfull and trustie, to be the chief dealer in this conspyracy, and commanded him to drawe unto her partie, as secretly as might be, soom such noble or woorshipfull men as wer wyse, faythfull and actyve, who were hable to make help in the cause. Raynold within few days gathered into the socyetie of that conspyracy Gyles Dawbney knight, Richerd Gylfoord, Thomas Ramney, John Cheney, and many mo. . . . The quene also maketh hir frindes partakers of this devyse.

[Margaret then heard of Buckingham's plan; and together they entered into communications with Henry. Meanwhile the preparations for a rising went forward.]

While these thinges wer a doing king Richerd was informyd of the conspyracy of these noble men, . . . And because he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the head of the conspyrators, therfor first of all he thowght best, ether by fraude or force, to cut of the same; and therfor he sent exceding curteous letters unto the duke that he wold coome unto him. . . . The duke, alledging infyrmytie of stomake, awnsweryd the messenger that

presently coome he cowlde not. King Rycherd wold admyt none excuse, but sent for him agane with threatening woords. Than the duke openly denyed that he wold coom to his enemy, and withall made ready for warre, and perswadid his confederates furthwith, soom one wher soom other, to rase the people. So almost at one moment and time Thomas marquyse Dorset, who was gone owt of sayntuary and preservyd from all danger by meane of Thomas Rowell, in Yorkshire, Edward Courtney, with Peter his broother, bisshop of Excester, in Devonshire, Richerd Gylfoord, with certane of great reputation, in Kent, rasyd upp the commons every wher to armor, and made a begynning of warres. But king Richerd the meane season having gatherid an huge host of armyd men, because he wold not dissypate his forces, the while he was willing to pursew every of the conspyrators, resolvyd to omyt the resydew, and turne his whole army agaynst the head, that was the duke, who removing from London tooke his journey towardes Salsbury, to thintent he might dyvert owt of that way agaynst the duke whersoever he could learne that he wer encampyd. And now was he coomyd within two days journey of the towne, whan the duke with great force of Walse soldiers, whom he, as a sore and hard dealing man, had brought to the feild agaynst ther wills, and withowt any lust to fight for him, rather by rigorus commandment than for money, . . . went earnestly abowt to encownter the king, but he was forsaken suddaynly of the more part of his soldiers, and compellyd thereby to fly, during which flight . . . he got himself into the howse of a certane servant of his namyd Humfrey Banyster. . . . But whan his confederates, who had now begoon warre, knew that the duke was forsaken of his people, and fled no man wyst whyther, they wer suddainly dismayd, every man fled without hope of safetie, and other got into sayntuaryes

or wyldernes, or assayed to sayle over the seas, wherof a great part came safe soone after into Brytayne.

[Richard took vigorous measures to capture the fugitives, and offered large rewards for Buckingham's arrest.]

Humfrey Bannister, whether for feare or money yt is soom dowt, betrayed his guest Henry the duke [to Richard's messengers], who brought him furthwith to Salsbury unto king Richerd. The duke was dilygently examynynd, and what he knew uppon demand he tould without torture, hopynge because he frely confessyd, that therfor he shoulde have lybertie to speake with king Richerd, which he most sore desyryd; but after he had confessyd thoffence he was beheadyd.¹ . . .

Whyle these thinges were doone in England, Henry erle of Richemoond had preparyd an army of v.M. Bryttaynes, and furnyshyd a navy of xv shippes, and now was approchyd the day of his departure, who began to sayle with prosperous wynd. . . . But a little before even suddayn tempest arose, wherewithall he was so afflyctyd that his shippes wer constraynyd by force of a crewell gale of wynde to turne ther course from one way from another; divers of them wer blowen bak into Normandie, others into Bryttany. The ship wherin Henry was, with one other, tossyd all night long with the waves, cam at the last . . . agaynst the haven cauldyd Pole. From hence erle Henry, viewing afur of all the shore beset with soldiers whiche king Richerd . . . had every wher disposyd, . . . sent owt a bote to try whether they wer his frindes. . . . Than those who wer sent wer earnestly desyryd by the soldiers from the shore to come a land. . . . But erle Henry suspecting yt to be a trayn, as yt was in dede, after that he dyd see none of his owne ships within view, hoysyd upp sale, and with prosperus wynde came into Normandy.

¹ 2 November.

90.

[Opinion in the north of the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion, 18 October, 1483; letter from Edward Plumpton to Sir Robert Plumpton. "Plumpton Correspondence," pp. 44-5.]

Peple in this country be so trobled, in such comandment as they have in the Kyngs name and otherwyse, marvellously, that they know not what to doe. My lord Strayng goeth forth from Lathum upon munday next with x m^l men, whether we cannot say. The Duke of Buck: has so many men, as yt is sayd here, that he is able to goe where he wyll; but I trust he shalbe right withstanded and all his mallice: and els were great pytty. Messengers commyth dayly, both from the King's grace and the Duke, into this country.

91.

[The death of Richard III's son. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, pp. 570-1. (Latin.)]

During this supreme council of the realm [the Parliament of January, 1484] and after Queen Elizabeth, being moved to do so by the frequent entreaties and terrible threats made to her, had sent all her daughters to King Richard out of the aforesaid sanctuary of Westminster, it happened that one afternoon in the month of February, almost all the lords spiritual and temporal of the kingdom, and the greater knights and squires of the King's household, amongst all of whom John Howard, newly created Duke of Norfolk by that King, appeared at that time the greatest, being assembled by the King's special command in a certain lower room near the corridor which leads to the Queen's apartments . . . they took a new oath of adherence to the King's only son Edward as supreme lord, if his father should die, each of them subscribing his name.

. . . In the following month of April, on a day near the anniversary of King Edward's death, [Richard's] only son,

upon whom by such oaths all hope of the royal succession rested, died at the Castle of Middleham after a very short illness. . . . You may well imagine that the father and mother, when they heard this news at Nottingham, where they then were, were almost distracted with this sudden grief.

92.

[Richard III's exaction of a benevolence, and his reported plans to marry Elizabeth of York, Christmas, 1484-5. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, pp. 571-2. (Latin.)]

Shrewdly considering that money, which he now began greatly to lack, is the sinews of war, he returned to the exactions of King Edward, which he had condemned in open Parliament, altogether rejecting the name of benevolence; and he sent specially instructed men . . . who by prayers and threats, by lawful and unlawful means, should extort the greatest possible sums of money from the treasuries of almost all the estates of the kingdom. And there are many other things which are not written in this book, and of which one is ashamed to speak; nevertheless this cannot be kept silent, that at these Christmas festivities the dances, and vain changes of raiment of Queen Anne and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king, made of the same colour and fashion, were much remarked upon; . . . and many said that the King, either looking for the Queen's death, or because he thought he had sufficient cause to obtain a divorce, was applying his thoughts in every way to marrying the said Elizabeth. There seemed no other way for the kingdom to be confirmed to him, or for the hope of his rival to be destroyed.

And not long after this, the Queen fell dangerously ill. . . . About the middle of the following March, on the day of a great eclipse of the sun which happened at that time,

the aforesaid Queen Anne died, and was buried at Westminster, with all the honour with which a Queen ought to be buried.

And then the King's said proposal and intention to marry his aforesaid relative Elizabeth becoming known to some who did not wish for this, the King was obliged to summon his council and excuse himself with many words, saying that this thing had never entered his mind.

93.

[Richard III's attempts to protect himself against the Earl of Richmond. Polydore Vergil, pp. 205-7.]

King Richerd, as yeat more dowtynge than trusting in his owne cause, was vexyd, wrestyd and tormentyd in mynd with feare almost perpetually of therle Henry and his confederates returne; wherfor he had a myserable lyfe, who to ryd himself of this inward gryefe, determynd fynally to pull up by the rootes all matter of feare and tumult. . . . And so after suche resolution taken he thought no way more fytt or commendable than to solycit agane the Duke of Brytayne, for money, prayer and reward, because yt lay in his hand to dispatche him quyte of all perill, and therefore he sent furthwith specyall messengers to the Duke, who, besydes great gyftes which they caryed with them, showld promise to geave him yerely the whole revenues of all the lands appertaining to Earle Henry, and the resydew of thinglishe nobylte that wer with him, yf he wold from thencefurth kepe them with him in ward. The messengers being gone with this maner message could not deale this matter with the Duke, for that he was becoome feble . . . wherfor Peter Landofe his treasurer, a man both of sharpe wit and great authoritye, rewlyd all matters as himself lyst. . . . Peter, who was in great hatryd of his owne countrymen, supposing that yf he showld satisfy King Richerd he showld be

more mightie againe his adversaries, awnsweryd that he wold do the thing which King Richerd requyryd . . . whyle that many messengers and often letters dyd fly to and fro betwixt Peter and the King, for dispatche of the busynes, John Byssshop of Ely, who lyvyd in Flanders, being certyfyed of that practyse from his fryndes owt of England, gave intelligence to Henry furthwith of the plot that was layd, by Christopher Urswyke, who was coomyd to hym owt of England abowt the same time, and advysyd therle that he showld get himself and thother noble men as soone as might be owt of Brytayne into France. . . .

[The Earl] accompanied with fyve onely servantes, feignyd to go unto a frind . . . but whan he had journeyed almost five myles he withdrewd hastily out of the highe way into the next wood, and doing on a serving mans apparell, he as a servant folowyd one of his owne servants (who was his guyde in that journey) as thowghe he had bene his maister, and . . . made no stay anywhere, except yt were to bate his horses, before he had gotten himself . . . within the bounds of Angeow.

94.

[The Earl of Richmond's invasion. Polydore Vergil, p. 216, *et seqq.*]

Henry . . . lowsyd from the mowth of Seyne with two thousand onely of armyd men and a few shippes, the calends of August, and with a soft suthren wynde. The weather being very fayre he came unto Wales the 7th day after, a lyttle before soone set, wher, entring thaven caulyd Milford and furthwith going a land, he took first a place wherof the name ys Dalley . . . and from thence . . . he went to Haverforde . . . wher he was receavyd with great goodwill of all men.

[He marched across England, gathering reinforcements as he went. The night before the battle he had a secret interview with the Stanleys.]

In the meane time King Richard, hearing that thennemy drew neare, came first to the place of fight, a little beyond Leycester (the name of that village ys Boswoorth), and ther, pightching his tentes, refresshyd his soldiers that night from ther travale, and with many woords exhortyd them to the fyght to coome.

. . . [Henry's army] making suddanelly great showtes assaultyd thennemy first with arrowes, who wer nothing faynt unto the fyght but began also to shoote fearcelly; but whan they cam to hand strokes the matter than was delt with blades. . . . Whyle the battayll contynewyd thus hote on both sides betwixt the vanwardes, King Richard understood, first by espyalls wher erle Henry was a farre of with smaule force of soldiers abowt him; . . . wherfor, all inflamyd with ire, he strick his horse with the spurres, and runneth owt of thone syde withowt the vanwardes agaynst him. . . . Henry abode the brunt longer than ever his owne soldiers wold have wenyd, who wer now almost owt of hope of victory, whan as loe William Stanley with thre thowsand men came to the reskew: than trewly in a very moment the resydew all fled, and King Richerd alone was killyd fyghting manfully in the thickest presse of his enemyes.

95.

[The end of Richard III. "The Great Chronicle of London," f. 214.]

Rychard late kyng as gloriously as he by the mornyng departid ffrom that Toon [Leicester], soo as Inreverently was he that afftyr noone browgth Into that toon, ffor hys body Dyspoylid to the skyn, and nowgth beyng lefft abouth hym soo much as wold covyr his pryvy membr he was trussyd behynd a pursevant callid Norrey as an hogg or an othyr vyle beest, And soo all to besprung wyth myyr and fylyth was browgth to a church In leycetyr ffor all men

to wondyr uppon, And there lastly Inreverently buried.
And thus endid this man with dys honour as he that
sowgth It, ffor hadd he contynuyd styll protectour and
have suffyrd the chilydyr to have prosperid accordyng to
his Alegeance and ffydelyte, he shuld have been honour-
ably laudyd ovyr all, where as now his ffame is dyrkid and
dyshonourid as fferre as he was knowyn, but God that ys
all mercyfull fforgyve hym hys mysdedys.

BOOK II. CONSTITUTIONAL.

[Extracts from Sir John Fortescue's "Commendation of the Laws of England," trans. by F. Grigor. The book takes the form of a dialogue between Fortescue and Prince Edward, son of Henry VI.]

Chap. IX. A King of England cannot, at his pleasure, make any alterations in the laws of the land. . . . He can neither make any alteration, or change in the laws of the realm without the consent of the subject, nor burthen them, against their wills, with strange impositions, so that a people governed by such laws as are made by their own consent and approbation enjoy their properties securely, and without the hazard of being deprived of them, either by the King or any other.

Chap. XIII. [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties and laws; for this very end and purpose he has the delegation of power from the people; and he has no just claim to any other power but this.

Chap. XVIII. [The statute law of England] does not flow solely from the mere will of one man, as the laws do in those countries which are governed in a despotic manner; . . . But the Statutes of England are produced in quite another manner: not enacted by the sole will of the Prince, but with the concurrent consent of the whole kingdom, by their representatives in Parliament . . . they are the result, not of one man's wisdom only, or an hundred, but such an assembly as the Roman Senate was of old, more than three hundred select persons; . . . And, if any bills passed into a law . . . should happen not to

answer to the intention of the legislators ; they can immediately be amended and repealed, in a whole or in part, that is, with the same consent and in the same manner, as they were at first enacted into a law.

A. PARLIAMENT.

1.

[Regulations for the election of members of Parliament, amongst the ordinances “made by the kynges comaundement and by hole assent of the citesens inhabitantes in the Cyte of Worcester, at their yeld merchaunt,” 14 September, 1467. “English Gilds” (E.E.T.S.), p. 393.]

Also, that every election of citezens for to come to the Parliament, that they be chosen openly in the yelde halle, of suche as ben dwellynge withyn the ffraunches, and by the moste voice, accordynge to the lawe and to the statutes in suche case ordeyned, and not privyly. And he or thay that retorneth hem in other wyse, lese to the comen tresour, c.s. And that fro hensforth, the citezens that shalbe chosen for the parliament, be of good name and fame, not outlawed, not accombred in actyons, as nygh as men may knowe, for worshipp of the seid cite. And that he be of frehold yerly, at the leste, xl.s. And that the seid persones so chosen for the parliament, that they ben att it to the ende of the parliament, and that they be served of hur wages accustomed, aftur hur comynge home, withyn a quarter of a yere next folowyng. And he that refuseth to pay, after he ys assessed to the seid expensis, to lese to the comyn tresour, xx.d. And the constable that doth not his devour for the levey of the same, to lese to the seid comyn tresour, vi.s. viii.d.

2.

[Illustrations of Parliamentary elections. (a) Letter from John Berney to John Paston about the election of knights of the shire for Norfolk, 17 July, 1461. "Paston Letters," II, 31.]

As for my playn dysposysyon towards the undyrshrewe, I wyll hym no bodyli hurt, nor [he] shal not be hurt by me nor by noo man that I may rewle. But the comynnes throw all the schyer be movyd agayn hym, for cause of his lyght demeanyng towards them for this eleksyon of knygtts of the shyer for the Parlement. And I suppose yf that he wyll, he may be hastyli easyd as thus: lat hym make notys unto the seyde comynnes that this theyr eleccyon shall stande, or ellys lat hym purchas a new wryt, and lat hym make wrytyng unto them what day they shall come, and they to make a new eleccyon accordyng unto the law.

[(b) Letter from Thomas Playter to John Paston about the same matter, December, 1461. *Ibid.*, p. 77.]

At the last shire [court] was moche pepoll and ille governed, for they wold not be rewled be no body, they had almost a slayne the underschref, for they told hym wryttes of eleccion was sent down and he kept it on syde to be gyle hem.

3.

[Letters illustrating the attempt to get Sir John Paston into Parliament, 1472. "Paston Letters," Vol. III, 51-5. (a) Letter from James Arblaster to the Bailiff of Malden.]

Ryght trusty frend, I comand me to yow, preying yow to call to your mynd that, lyek as ye and I comonyd of, it were necessary for my Lady and yow all, hyr servaunts and tenaunts, to have thys Parlement as for one of the burgeys of the towne of Maldon, syche a man of worchep and of wytt as wer towardys my seyde Lady; and also syche on

as is in favor of the Kyng and of the Lords of hys consayll nyghe abought hys persone. Sertyfying yow, that my seid Lady for hyr parte, and syche as be of hyr consayll be most agreeabyll, that bothe ye, and all syche as be hyr fermors and tenauntys, and wellwyllers, shold geve your voyce to a worchepfull knyght, and one of my Ladys consayll, Sir John Paston, whyche standys gretly in favore with my Lord Chamberleyn; and what my seyde Lord Chamberleyn may do with the Kyng and with all the Lordys of Ingland, I trow it be not unknowyn to yow most of eny on man alyve. Wherefor, by the meenys of the seyde Sir John Paston to my seyde Lord Chamberleyn, bothe my Lady and ye of the towne kowd not have a meeter man to be for yow in the Perlement, to have your needys sped at all seasons. Wherfor, I prey yow labor all syche as be my Ladys servauntts, tenaunts, and wellwyllers, to geve ther voyseys to the seyde Sir John Paston, and that ye fayle not to sped my Ladys intent in thys mater, as ye entend to do hyr as gret a plesur, as if ye gave hyr an Cli.

[(b) John Paston to Sir John Paston.]

Ryght worchepfull sir, I recomand me to yow, letyng yow wet that your desyer as for the Knyghts of the Shyer was an impossoybyl to be browght abowght; ffor my Lord of Norfolk and my Lord of Suffolk were agreid i mor then a fortnyght go to have Sir Robert Wyngfeld, and Sir Rychard Harcort, and that knew I not tyll it was Fryday last past. I had sent or I rod to Framlynham, to warne as many of your frends to be at Norwyche as thys Monday, to serve your entent as I koud; but when I cam to Framlynham, and knew the apoyntment that was taken for the ii knyghts, I sent warnyng ayen to as many as I myght to tery at hom; and yet ther cam to Norwyche thys day as many as ther costs dreave to ix s. id. ob., payid and reknyd by

Pekok and R. Capron, and yet they dyd but brak ther fest and depertyd. And I thankyd hem in your name, and told them that ye wold have noo voyce as thys day, for ye supposyd not to be in Inglond when the Perlement shold be, and so they cam not at the sherhous; for if they had, it was thought by syche as be your frends here, that your adversarys wold have reportyd that ye had mad labor to have ben one, and that ye koud not bryng your purpose abowght.

I sent to Yermowthe, and they have promysyd also to Doctor Aleyn and John Russe to be [burgesses] mor then iii wekys goo.

Jamys Arblaster hathe wretyn a lettyr to the Bayle of Maldon, in Essex, to have yow a bergeys ther; . . . If ye mysse to be burgeys of Maldon, and my Lord Chamberleyn wyll, ye may be in a nother plase; ther be a doseyn townys in Inglond that chesse no bergeys, whyche ought to do, and ye may be set in for one of those townys, and ye be frendyd.

4.

[Proceedings at the opening of Parliament, R.P., VI, 196-7. 1483.
(Latin.)]

Memorandum, that on Monday, the twentieth day of January, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the conquest, that is to say on the first day of Parliament, our lord the King himself being seated on his royal throne in the Painted Chamber, called the Chamber of Saint Edward, in his palace of Westminster; there being then present many Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of the realm of England, called to theaforesaid Parliament by command of the King; the venerable father Thomas Archbishop of York, Chancellor of England, pronounced and declared in notable manner the causes of the

summons of the aforesaid Parliament ; taking as his text, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, etc."

After the conclusion of this pronouncement and declaration, the same Chancellor straitly charged the aforesaid Commons in the King's name, that they should assemble on the morrow in their common and accustomed house, and elect for themselves a Speaker ; and after electing him they should present him to our lord the King. The same Chancellor also declared that our said lord the King, wishing justice to be most speedily done as well to natives as to strangers wishing to complain in the said Parliament, had constituted and assigned certain receivers and triers of petitions exhibited in the same Parliament, in the following form.

[The names of the committees to receive and try petitions follow.]

Also, on Tuesday, the second day of Parliament, the aforesaid Commons, by certain of their number, declared to the Chancellor of England and the rest of the Lords spiritual and temporal in the present Parliament, that they, executing with all diligence our lord the King's command given to them the day before, had chosen a certain John Wood as their Speaker ; very humbly begging that there might be a respite of the presentation of their said Speaker to our lord the King until the morrow ; which was granted to them.

Also, on Wednesday, the third day of Parliament, the aforesaid Commons appearing before our lord the King in open Parliament,¹ presented to our lord the King the aforesaid John Wood their Speaker, with whom our lord the King was well content. And the same John, after making his excuse in the presence of our lord the King, because that his excuse was not admitted by our lord the King, very humbly prayed our lord the King that all and singular

¹ In pleno Parlamento.

matters to be uttered and declared in the aforesaid Parliament in the name of the said Commons, he might set forth, utter and declare under such conditions, that if he declared anything enjoined upon him by his fellows otherwise than they had agreed, either by addition or omission, that matter so declared might be corrected and amended by his aforesaid fellows; and that this his protestation might be entered on the roll of the aforesaid Parliament. And reply was made to him by the aforesaid Lord Chancellor by our lord the King's command, that the said John should have and enjoy such protestation, as other Speakers in the time of our said lord the King and his noble progenitors had been accustomed to have and enjoy in Parliament.

5.

[The King's power to add provisos to acts of Parliament, and to give a qualified assent to them. (a) Assent to the act declaring his title to the throne and giving certain people the right to enter upon lands formerly held by the house of Lancaster. R.P., V, 467. 1461. (First paragraph in Latin.)]

Which petition having been read, heard and fully understood in the aforesaid Parliament, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being in the same Parliament, and at the request of the aforesaid Commons, answer was given to the same in the manner and form hereunder noted.

"The Kyng, by the advis, and assent of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell in this present Parlement assembled, at the request of the Commyns beyng in the same, agreeth and assenteth to this petition, and hit accepteth, with certeyn moderacions, provisions and exceptions, by his Highnes theruppon made, and in certeyn cedulaes writen, and in the same Parlement delyvered, the tenours of which hereunder folowen" [eight and a half large folio pages of additions and exceptions made by the King to this and other acts of this Parliament follow].

[(b) From the royal assent to an Act of Resumption in 1473. *Ibid.*, VI, 74.]

As touchyng this Bill of Resumption . . . the Kyng's Highnes hath well conceyved and understoud the same; and by th'advis and assent of the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, and the Commens, beyng in this present Parlement, and by the auctorite of the same, theym hath accepted and agreed: Soo alwey, that such provisions and acceptations, as by his Highnes be or shall be made and agreed . . . be goode and effectuell.

[(c) The King's assent to 4 Edward IV, c. 5 (1464), prohibiting the importation of merchandise from the lands of the Duke of Burgundy until the restrictions on the import of English cloth there are removed. *Ibid.*, V, 566.]

The Kyng agreeth to this bille, except the penaltee in the seid bille leid upon the denysyen or alien; that is to sey, that . . . accepteth or taketh eny maner of licence of his Highnes, in breking of this ordenaunce. . . .

Provided alwey, that nouthur this acte, nor eny other acte, statute or ordenaunce, made or to be made in this present Parlement, doo eny hurt, prejudice or derogation unto Merchauntes of Almayn.

[(d) The King's assent to 7 Edward IV, c. 3 (1467), prohibiting the export of woollen yarn and unfulled cloths. *Ibid.*, V, 622. (French.)]

The King wills it; so that the ordinance made in this matter shall begin to be in force at the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady,¹ which shall be in the year of Our Lord MCCCCLXVIII.

¹ 15 August.

6.

[Comines' remarks on Parliament. "*Mémoires*," I, 314-5. (French.)

The comment follows a statement that the Duke of Burgundy and his army were ready to join Edward IV's projected French expedition in 1474.]

But things go slowly in England: for the king cannot undertake any such enterprise without calling his Parliament (which is equivalent to saying the Three Estates) which is a very just and good thing: and kings are stronger and better served when they act thus in such matters, for voluntary gifts are not small. When the estates are assembled, he declares his intention, and asks for help from his subjects: for no aids are raised in England, except to pass over to France or go to Scotland, or other similar expenses; and they grant them very willingly and liberally, especially to pass over to France. And it is a practice of these kings of England, when they want to amass money, to make pretence of going to Scotland or France, and to raise armies: and to get a great deal of money, they make a three months' payment, and then disband their armies and go home; and they have received money for a year. And this King Edward was an adept at this practice, and often did it.

B. COUNCILS.

1.

[Fortescue's suggested reorganisation of the King's Council. "*Certeine advertisementes sente by my lorde prince to therle of Warrewic his fadir in lawe, for to be shewed and comuned by hym to king Henry his fader and his counseile, to thentente that the same advertisementes . . . mow be practised and put in use.*" Printed as Appendix B to Plummer's edition of Fortescue's "*Governance of England*".]

It is thoughte good that it shulde please the king testablysshe a counseill of spirituel men xii, and of tem-

porel men xii, of the mooste wise and indifferente that can be chosen in alle the londe. And that ther be chosen to theime yerly iiiii lordis spirituelx, and iiiii lordis temporelx, or in lasse nombre. And that the king do no grete thing towching the rewle of his reaume, nor geve lande, ffee, office or benefice, but that firste his intende therinne be communed and disputed in that counseill, and that he have herde their advises ther upon; whiche may in no thing restreyne his power, libertee or prerogatif. And thanne shall the king not be counseled by menn of his chambre, of his housholde, nor other which can not counsele hym; but the good publique shal by wise men be condute to the prosperite and honoure of the land, to the suretie and welfare of the kyng, and to the suretie of alle theyme that shal be aboute his persone, whome the peopull have oftyn tymes slayne for the myscounteling of their soveraigne lorde. But the forsaide xxiiii^{ti} counseylours may take noo fee, clothing, nor rewardis, or be in any manes service, otherwyse than as the Justices of the lawe may doo. Many other articles neden to be addid hereto whiche now were to longe to be remembrid hereinne. Neverthelesse it is thoughte that the grete officeres, as Chaunceller, Thresorer, and prive seale, the Juges, barons of theschequer, and the Clerke of the Rolles, may be of this counseill whanne they wil come therto or whan the seyde xxiiii^{ti} and viii^{te} lordis will desire them to be with theyme.

And for asmoche as it may be thoughte that thestablissementes of suche a counsele shalbe a newe and a grete charge to the kyng, hit is to be considered, how that the olde counsell of Englonde, which was mooste of grete lordis that more attended to their owne matieres thanne to the good universall profute, and therefore procured hemselfe to be of the counsell, whiche was nere hand of as grette charge to the king as this counsell shalbe and no thing of

suche profute. Ffor this counsell shall almost contynuelly studye and labour upon the good politike wele of the londe, as to provide that the money be not borne oute of the reaume, and how bolyon may be broughte inne, how merchandizes and comoditees of the lande may kepe theire prices and valiwe, how estraungeres caste not downe the price of the commodites growing in the londe, and suche other poyntys of policee. And also how the lawe may be fourmely kepte and refourmed ther as it is defectife, to the grettest good and suretie of the welthe of the londe that hathe bene sene in any lande. And trewly ther hath bene geun in late daies to somme oon lorde temporell much mor lyvelode in yerly value than woll paye the wages of alle the newe counsell. . . .

And also that no patente be made in inheritaunce of any partie of the kinges lyveloode . . . withoute thasente of his parliamente, nor for terme of lyfe, or yeres countervailing terme of lyffe, withoute thadvice of his counsale.

2.

[The Council in the North. (a) Indenture between Richard Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Northumberland, 1474. Printed by De Fonblanque, "Annals of the House of Percy," I, 549. Lands and power in the North had been divided between the Percy and Neville factions, which took opposite sides in the war. The power of the Percies, and with it the Lancastrian cause in the North, was overthrown at Towton, and the Nevilles became supreme in the North. When Edward IV broke with the Nevilles, he restored the heir of the Percies to the earldom of Northumberland as a counterpoise to the Neville influence (cf. pp. 43 n., 48); but he did so too late to prevent his own expulsion from the kingdom. Percy, however, held the North quiet on Edward's return, and so made his victory possible. But Edward resolved to strengthen his hold on the North by making supreme there some one whom he could thoroughly trust; so his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was married to Anne Neville and by the King's influence obtained with her all the Earl of Warwick's lands north

of the Trent. Further grants of lands and offices made him the greatest landowner and official in the North. Finally his power and influence became so great that the Earl of Northumberland engaged to be his retainer in the following document.]

This endenture made the xxviiith daie of July in the xiiith yere of the Reigne of our souveraine Lorde King Edward the fourthe bitwix the Right High and mighty Prince Richard Duc of Gloucestre on the oon partye and the Right Worshipfull Lorde Henry Erle of Northumberland on the other party. Witnesseth that the said Erle by thies presents promitts and grants unto the said Duc to be his faithfull servant, the said Duc being his good and faithfull Lorde. And the said Erle to do service unto the said Duc at all tymes lawfull and [con]venient, whan he therunto by the said Duc shal be lawfully requyred, the duetie of the alegeunce of the said Erle to the Kings Highnes, the Quene, his service and promise to Prince Edward, thair first begoten son, and all the King's issue begoten and to be begoten first at all tymes reserved and hadd. For the which service the said Duc promitts and grants unto the said Erle to be his good and faithfull Lorde at all tymes. And to sustene hym in his Right afore all personnes except to fore except. Also the said Duc promitts and grants to the said Erle that he shal not aske chalenge nor clayme any office or offices or Fee that the said Erle hath of the King's grant or any other personne or personnes at the making of thies presents nor interrupt the said Erle nor any of his servunts in executing or doing of any the said Office or Offices by hym or any of his servuntz in tyme to come. And also the said Duc shal not accept nor reteigne into his service any servunt or servuntz that was or any tyme seth hath ben with the said Erle reteigned of Fee clothing or promise according to thappoyntment taken betwix the said Duc and Erle by the Kings Highness and the Lords of his Counseil at Nottyngham the xith

daie of May in the xiiith yere of the Reigne of the said sovereign Lorde except John Wedryngton. In witnes wherof the said Duc and the said Erle to thies endenturs entrechungably have sett thair sealis the daye and yere abovesaid.

[(b) The Duke of Gloucester's council. Every great landowner had a council which helped him to manage his lands and household. Extract from the accounts of the Chamberlains of York, 1475; Davies, "York Records," p. 41.]

. . . And paid for three gallons of red wine, given to the Lord Baron of Graystok, Edward Hastyns, knight, and Thomas Wytham, and others of the council of the Lord Duke of Gloucester, bringing letters from the Lady Duchess of Gloucester, directed to the mayor and aldermen.

[(c) Richard III's reorganisation of the Council which had assisted him in the government of his lands in the North; it now became the King's Council in the North. "Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII" (R.S.), I, 56-9. July, 1484.]

Thise Articles folowing be ordeyned and stablissed by the kinges grace, to be used and executed by my lord of Lincolne, and the lordes and other of his counselle in the North Parties for his suertie and welthe of thenhabitantes of the same.

. . . Item, that no maner mater of gret weght or substance be ordered or determyned within the said counselle enlesse that two of thise, that is to say [blank] with our said nepveu be at the same, and they to be commissioners of our peax thoroughout these parties.

Item, that the said counselle be, hooly if it may be, onys in the quarter of the yere at the leste, at York, to here, examyne and ordre alle billes of compleyntes and other there before theym to be shewed, and oftyner if the case require.

Item, that the said counselle have auctorite and power to ordre and direct alle riottes, forcible entres, distresse takinges, variaunces, debates and other mysbehaviors ayenst our lawes and peas committed and done in the said parties. And if any suche be that they in no wise can thoroughly ordre, than to referre it unto us, and therof certifie us in alle goodly hast thereafter.

Item, the said counselle in no wise determyn mater of land without thassent of the parties.

Item, that our said counselle for great riottes done and committed in the gret lordships or otherwise by any persone, committe the said persone to warde to oon of our castelles nere where the said riott is committed. . . . And if noo suche castelle be nere, than the next common gaole.

. . . Item, that alle lettres and writings by our said counselle to be made for the due executing of the premisses be made in our name, and the same to be endoced with the hande of our nepveu of Lincolne undre nethe by thise wordes *Per Consilium Regis*.

Item, we wolle and streitly charge alle and singuler our officers, true liegemen and subgiettes in thise North Parties to be at alle tymes obeiang to the commaundementes of our said counselle in our name. . . .

Memorandum, that the kinges grace afore his departing do name the lordes and other that shalbe of his counselle in these parties.

3.

[The Council of Wales and the Marches. King Edward had kept the lands of his earldom of March separate from the other crown lands, and administered them by a council such as had assisted him to manage them before he became king. When Prince Edward was born he was invested with the principality of Wales, the duchy of Cornwall and the earldom of Chester ; in July, 1471, and again in February, 1473, a single council was appointed for

all three. In 1478 he became Earl of March, and the Councils for Wales and the Marches were amalgamated. This Council, in addition to the equitable jurisdiction enjoyed by the councils of other lords over their tenants and retainers, had two commissions of oyer and terminer, one for civil and one for criminal causes, which gave it throughout the Marches and the four border shires of Salop, Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester a civil and criminal jurisdiction even more extensive than that of the King's own Council, since it could deal with treason and felony, while the King's Council could not.

The following case is given as an illustration of the Council's work. In 1480 quarrels arose in Coventry, a town which belonged to the earldom of Chester, relative to the enclosure of common pastures. The Chamberlains complained to the Prince against the Prior and Recorder, and representatives of the parties were ordered to come before the Council at Ludlow. The Mayor brought counter-charges of insubordination against Laurence Saunders, one of the Chamberlains. "Coventry Leet Book" (E.E.T.S.), pp. 440-1.]

And forasmoch as uppon the examinacion of the premisses afore the highnesse of my said lord Prynce and his honorable Councell there and at that tyme had, ther appered divers variance to be betwixt the Prior and the Town and also Briscowe and the Town for comon of pasture, etc., whch to appese hit was there condescended be the assent of the seid parties, that Sir Ric. Croftez, knyght, Tresorer of my seide lorde Prince, chosen for the parte of the Town, Joh. Catesby, seriant of the lawe, for the seid prior, and Kenelme Dicas for the partie of Briscowe, shulde uppon comunicacion, etc., undirstand the ryght in the premisses; and theruppon to make relacion in that partie to my seid lord and his Councell that he theruppon myght make decre under his honorable seall finally to endure, etc. And be-cause the seid Laurens, in shewyng of the premisses, entended not only reformation of theym, but feyned maters to thentent to have be venged for the due punysshement yeven to hym be the seid Maire for his obstynacy and disobesaunce etc., as openly there

was preved, the seid Laurens was therfore be my seid lorde and his Counceill, sent home to the seid Meire to resceyve suche correccion as the seid Maire be thadvice of his Counceill wold leye unto hym, etc.

C. ROYAL REVENUE.

1.

[Fortescue on the problem of the royal revenue, "Governance of England," ed. Plummer.]

Chap. V. The harme that comyth off a kynges poverte.

Ffirst, yff a kyng be pore, he shall bi necessite make his expences, and by all that is necessarie to his estate, by creaunce and borowyng; wher through his creauncers wolle wynne upon hym the iiith or the vth pene of all that he dispendith. And so he shall lese whan he payith, the iiith or the vth pene of his revenues, and thus be ther by alway porer and porer, as user and chevisaunce encressith the poverte off hym that borowith. His creauncers shul alway grucche ffor lake of thair paymente, and defame his highnes off mysgovernance, and defaute of kepyng of days; wich yf he kepe, he most borowe also much at the dayis, as he didd firste; ffor he shalbe thann pouerer than he was by the value of the iiith or vth parte of his first expences, and so be alway pouerer and pouerer, unto the tyme he be the pouerest lorde of his lande. . . . It is most to his unsuyrte. For his subgettes woll rather goo with a lorde that is riche, and mey pay thair wages and expenses, then with thair kyng that hath nocht in his purse, but thai most serve hym, yf thai will do so, at thair owne dispenses. . . . And often tymes for lake of money the kyng shall be fayne to gyf away his lande . . . to the grete abatynge of his revenues and depopolacion of his reaume. But the grettest harme that comyth of a kynges poverte is, that he shal bi necessite be arted to fynde exquysite

meanes of geytinge of good ; as to putt defaute in some of his subgettes that bith innocentes, and upon the riche men more then the pore, by cause that he mey better pay ; and to shew rigoure ther as favour awght to be shewid, and favour ther as rigour shuld be shewid, to perversion of Justice, and perturbacion of the peas and quiete of the reaume.

[Chap. VI. The king's expenses are divided into ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary revenue should be large enough to meet ordinary expenditure, with a margin "for doute of soden cases". The "ordenarie charges" are the king's household and wardrobe, wages and fees of great officers, courts and counsel, the keeping of the Marches and of Calais, and "the kynges werkes" (i.e., building and repairs). Naval expenditure is not reckoned one of the "ordenarie charges," as tunnage and poundage are appropriated to it.]

Chap. VII. The kynges extraordinarie charges.

The kynges extraordinarie charges bith so casuelle, that no man mey knowe hem in certaynte. But yet he may esteme what somme thai bith not like to excede, but yff ther ffall a case over moch exorbitant ; and than it shalbe reasone, and also necessarie, that all the reaume beyre ffor that case a synguler charge.

[The extraordinary charges are the sending and receiving of ambassadors, rewards for services—"this charge woll all wey be grete"—buildings, clothes and jewels, furnishings, horses and personal expenses ; commissioners and judges sent "to represe and punysh riatours and risers" ; and preparations to repel sudden invasion.]

Chap. VIII. Yff the kynges livelode suffice not, his subgettes aught to make hit sufficient.

. . . Ffor his reaume is bounde by right to susteyne hym in every thyng necessarie to his estate. Ffor, as Seynt Thomas saith, *Rex datur propter regnum, et non regnum propter regem*. Wherefore all that he dothe owith to be referred to his kyngdome. Ffor though his estate

be the highest estate temporall in the erthe, yet it is an office, in wich he mynestrieth to his reaume defence and justice. And therefore he may say off hym selff and off his reaume, as the pope saith off hym selff and off the church, in that he writithe, *servus servorum Dei*. By wich reason, ryght as every servant owyth to have is sustenance off hym that he serveth, so aught the pope to be susteyned by the chirche, and the kyng by his reaume. . . .

Chap. IX. Here he shewith the perellis that may come to the kyng by over myghtye subgettes.

. . . Diverse lordis off Englande have also moch livelode off thair owne. . . . For than such a lord may dispende more then the kynge, consideringe that he is charged with no such charges extraordinarie or ordinarie as is the kyng. . . . Wherefore . . . it shalbe necessarie, that ther be purveyid ffor the kyng moch gretter livelod than he hath yet. . . . When a subget hath hade also gret livelod as his prince, he hath anon aspired to the estate of his prince, wich by such a man may sone be gote. . . . Such an enterprise is the more ffeseable, when such a rebell hath more riches than his soverayne lorde. Ffor the peple will go with hym that best may susteyne and rewarde ham. . . .

Chap. X. How that the croune is beste to be indowed. . . . Yff the kynge myght have is livelod ffor the sustenance off his estate in grete lordshippes, maneres, ffee ffermys, and such other demaynes, his people not charged, he shulde kepe to hym hollych thair hertes, excede in lordshippes all the lordes off his reaume, and ther shulde non off hem growe to be like unto hym, wich thyng is most to be fered off all the worlde.

2.

[Unparliamentary methods employed by Edward IV to fill his treasury.

“Croyland Chronicle,” second continuation, p. 559, under 1477.
(Latin.)]

It cannot be doubted that the perplexity of this matter sank very deeply into the King's heart, for he was not ignorant of the disposition of his people and how easily they might be drawn into insurrections and fresh movements, if they should find a captain. Therefore seeing himself to have now come to such a point that he dared not exact subsidies from the English people for his needs; and that for lack of money (and that was most true) the French expedition had quickly come to nothing; he concentrated his attention on how in future to gather treasure suitable to the royal estate of his own substance and industry. Therefore he resumed by Act of Parliament almost all the royal patrimony, to whomsoever it had been granted, and applied the whole of it to the support of the burdens of the Crown. He appointed as supervisors of tolls in all the ports of the kingdom very shrewd men who, as rumour said, were excessively hard on the merchants. And the King himself, having prepared merchant ships, loaded them with the finest wool, cloth, tin, and other commodities of the kingdom, and bartered them through his factors, merchandise for merchandise, both with Italians and Greeks, as if he were one of the men who live by trade. The filling up of vacant bishoprics, which according to Magna Carta may not be sold, was settled by him for a sum of money, nor would he release them from his hands by any other agreement. He carefully searched the registers and rolls of Chancery, and from those, whomsoever they were, whom he found to have intruded themselves into inheritances without the formal prosecution required by law, he exacted heavy redemptions for the mesne pro-

fits. These and similar ways of getting money, more than can be devised by any inexperienced man ; in addition to the yearly tribute of ten thousand pounds due from France, and frequent ecclesiastical tenths from which the prelates and clergy might not be excused, in a few years made that prince extremely wealthy.

3.

[A benevolence. (a) "Coventry Leet Book," pp. 410-11, 21 December, 1474. The King, in a letter under the Privy Seal to the Mayor and others, says that Parliament has decided that the best way to restore the kingdom to its old fame and prosperity is to wage a war to recover Normandy, Guienne, and France. The Lords and Commons have made a grant to pay the soldiers' wages, but money is needed for artillery, food, shipping, and other matters.]

Therefore it is that at this tyme we directe thees oure present lettres unto you with certein articules of instructions, praying and neverthelesse charging you by the same that ye these our consideracions, will and entent, shewe and opene unto all such personez of our cite of Coventre, singularly and severally, as to your discessions shal-be thought best willing to the prosperouse estate of oure persone . . . except only such persones as have, in oure presence, to our right singuler plesur, shewed largely unto us thair benivolence in this behalf, whose names with their grauntes ben comprised in a cedula her-in-closed, and that by all liefull and convenient meanes ye sturre and move the same persones, oure feithfull subgettes and well-willers . . . to shewe by wey of their good will and benivolence with what somes of money or otherwise it schall please tham to help and assiste us, takyng of everich of tham a bille . . . sealed with thair seales, of such grauntes as theim schall like severally to make in this behalf, and at whatt daye or terme it shal-be paied, the wich billes from tyme to tyme [we] will that [they] be send up

unto us with your writyng, to thentent that every such persone may, accordyng to his good wille and merites, have of us his speciall thanke, and stande in the more ample favour of oure good grace.

[(b) Letter from London to a counsellor of the Duke of Milan, 17 March, 1475. C.S.P. Milan, I, no. 282.]

This autumn the king went into the country, from place to place, and took information of how much each place could pay. He sent for them all, one by one, and told them that he wished to cross to conquer France and deluded them with other words. Finally, he has so contrived that he obtained money from everyone who had the value of 40*l.* sterling and upwards. Everyone seemed to give willingly. I have frequently seen our neighbours here who were summoned before the king, and when they went they looked as if they were going to the gallows; when they returned they were joyful, saying that they had spoken to the King and that he had spoken to them so benignly that they did not regret the money they had paid.

From what I have heard some say, the king adopted this method. When anyone went before him he gave him a welcome as if he had known him always. After some time he asked him what he could pay of his free will towards this expedition. If the man offered something proper he had his notary ready, who took down the name and the amount. If the king thought otherwise he told him, Such a one, who is poorer than you, has paid so much; you who are richer can easily pay more, and thus by fair words he brought him up to the mark and in this way it is argued that he has extracted a very large amount of money.

4.

[Act against benevolences, 1484. "S. R." II, 478.]

The King remembryng howe the Commens of this his roialme by new and unlawfull invencions and inordinate covetise, ageynst the law of this roialme, have be put to gret thraldome and importable charges and exactions, and in especiall by a newe impositicion named a benevolence, wherby dyverse yeres the subgettes and comens of this lande agaynst their willes and fredome have paid greате sommes of money to their almost utter destruction; . . . Therefore the King woll it to be ordeigned . . . that his subgiettes and the comynalte of this his roialme from hensfurth in nowise be charged by none suche charge exaction or impositicion called benevolence, nor by suche lyke charge . . . but it be dampned and anulled for ever.

D. LAWLESSNESS AND JUSTICE.

1.

[Extracts from Sir John Fortescue's "Commendation of the Laws of England".]

Chap. XX. Where any have a controversy depending before a Judge, and they come to a trial upon the matter of fact, . . . the issue of such plea, by the rules of the Civil Law, is to be proved by the deposition of witnesses, and two witnesses are held sufficient: but, by the Laws of England, the truth of the matter cannot appear to the Judge, but upon the oath of twelve men of the neighbourhood where the fact is supposed to be done.

Chap. XXV. The Justices . . . write to the Sheriff of the County, where the fact is supposed to be, that he would cause to come before them, at a certain day, by them appointed, twelve good and lawful men of the neighbourhood, where the fact is supposed, who stand in

no relation to either of the parties who are at issue, in order to inquire and know upon their oaths, if the fact be so as one of the parties alleges.

. . . And every one of the Jury shall have lands, or revenues, for the term of his life, of the yearly value at least of forty shillings.

This method is observed in all actions and causes, criminal, real, or personal.

Chap. XXVI. Twelve good and true men being sworn, . . . neither suspected by, nor at variance with either of the parties; all of the neighbourhood; there shall be read to them in English, by the Court, the Record and nature of the plea, . . . and the Issue thereupon shall be plainly laid before them, concerning the truth of which, those who are so sworn are to certify the Court: which done, each of the parties, by themselves or the Counsel, in presence of the Court, shall declare and lay open to the Jury all and singular the matters and evidences, . . . after which each of the parties has a liberty to produce before the Court all such witnesses as they please. . . .

The whole of the evidence being gone through, the Jurors shall confer together . . . in a place assigned them for that purpose, lest anyone should attempt by indirect methods to influence them as to their opinion, which they are to give in to the Court. Lastly, they are to return into Court and certify the Justices upon the truth of the issue so joined.

Chap. XXVII. . . . Who then in England can be put to death unjustly for any crime? since he is allowed so many pleas and privileges in favour of life: none but his neighbours, men of honest and good repute, against whom he can have no probable cause of exception, can find the person accused, guilty. . . .

Neither can there be any room for suspicion, that in such a course and method of proceeding, a guilty person

can escape the punishment due to his crimes; such a man's life and conversation would be restraint and terror sufficient to those who should have any inclination to acquit him: in a prosecution, carried on in this manner, there is nothing cruel, nothing inhuman; an innocent person cannot suffer in life or limb: he has no reason to dread the prejudices or calumny of his enemies, he will not, cannot, be put to the rack, to gratify their will and pleasure. In such a Constitution, under such laws, every man may live safely and securely.

2.

[Resistance to royal officers. Patent Roll, 1 Ed. IV, pt. 2, m. 10d. 1461. (Latin and English.) "Calendar," p. 67. The Castle of Bokenham and certain lands in Norfolk had come to the Crown by an inquisition before the escheator, but they had then been seized by John and William Knyvet, and the attempt of the royal officials to take possession of them had failed.]

You the aforesaid Gilbert [Debynhem] John Twyer and Richard Southwell have certified to us in our Chancery that you . . . went to and in virtue of our letters patent aforesaid entered the outer ward of the aforesaid castle as far as the outer end of a bridge called "a draght brigge" lying and leading across deep waters there into the aforesaid castle. And further you then and there saw the aforesaid bridge raised and entirely drawn up, so that you could not at that time cross over further into the aforesaid castle on account of the water and the raising [of the bridge], and that then there appeared within a certain little tower above the inner foot of the bridge. . . . Alice, the wife of the aforesaid John Knyvet, keeping the aforesaid castle at that time in warlike manner . . . and that there were then and there assisting and adhering to the said Alice . . . William Toby of Old Bokenham in the County of Norfolk, "gentilman," and divers other persons named

in the aforesaid certificate and many other malefactors and disturbers of our peace to the number of fifty persons. . . . And on account of certain words addressed to you the aforesaid John Twyer by the aforesaid Alice in English, and specified in the aforesaid certificate, the tenor of which follows word for word : " Maister Twyer, ye be a justice of the pees and I require you to kepe the peas for I woll nott leve the possession of this castell to dye therefore, and if ye begyn to breke the peas or make any warre to gete the place of me I shall defende me, for lever I had in suche wyse to dye than to be slayne when my husbond cometh home, for he charget me to kepe it " : you . . . nor any of you, by reason of fear of death and mutilation, did not dare to enter the aforesaid castle further than the outer ward or to seize it at that time into our hands.

[Commissioners, headed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, are therefore appointed to take the castle into the King's hands by whatever means they can, and to arrest John and William Knyvet and their adherents.]

3.

[Persons who wish to avoid justice riotously prevent sessions of the Peace being held at Cambridge. Extract from roll of sessions held there on the Monday after St. Valentine, 1464. P.R.O. Ancient Indictments, bundle 8. (Latin and English.) Twelve jurors present that the Justices of Peace sat at Cambridge on Wednesday after Epiphany, and one John Troys, late of Ely, and others, was presented for assault and robbery] :—

And upon this Thomas Persons, late of Ely in the county of Cambridge, "gentilman," taking upon himself royal power, with the intention that the aforesaid sessions of our lord the King should not be held there by the aforesaid Justices . . . sent John Cokeyn and others to move and incite John Smyth at the Brygge late of Saham in the county of Cambridge "husbondman" . . . and all men inhabiting the aforesaid town of Saham, Fordeham, Wykyn

Sneywell, and Colyngham . . . that they should assemble in warlike and riotous manner . . . and come to the town of Cambridge on the said Wednesday to prevent the aforesaid Justices from holding the aforesaid sessions there. And so the same Thomas Persons nor any other person of the aforesaid towns . . . might in any wise be brought to justice. Whereupon the aforesaid John Troys and others on the said Wednesday . . . having gathered to them many other malefactors and disturbers of the King's peace to the number of forty persons, with force and arms . . . came to the aforesaid town of Cambridge and then and there the said John Troys and others said in English: "That all tho that were enpanelled to be att Camnbridge before the seid Justice that endited the said Thomas Persons or any of them of any tresons, felonyes or trespasses by them don thei wolde seke them in their houses and smyte of theire hedes. And furthermore thei sent theire messangeres to the seid Justice seyng, with that condicon that the seid Thomas Persons nor none of them of the seid tresons insurrecons and trespasses shuld be indited, thei wold that the seid sessions by the seid Justice shuld be holden, or ell[es] thei wold put them in devoire to lette the seid Justice to kepe any sessions." And thereupon the said John Troys and others . . . sent a certain Andrew Tebawde and Simon Gore to the aforesaid town of Cambridge to hear and see whether the aforesaid sessions should be held there by the aforesaid Justices or not. And that the same Andrew and Simon gave notice to the same malefactors that they should prevent the aforesaid Justices from holding the same sessions, through which our lord the King's people coming to the same sessions . . . withdrew for fear of the aforesaid malefactors. And the aforesaid [five Justices of Peace] seeing and perceiving the malice of the aforesaid malefactors . . . were not able to hold the aforesaid sessions. So that the aforesaid sessions were delayed

to be then and there held by the aforesaid Justices, in contempt of our lord the King, his crown and regality.

[Troys was tried at the next sessions for his original offence, and acquitted; for the insurrection he put himself on the King's grace and was pardoned. Persons was sent to the Court of King's Bench.]

4.

[The siege of Caistor Castle, 1469. This was the culmination of a lengthy quarrel between the Duke of Norfolk and the Paston family. "Paston Letters," II, 371-2. Margaret Paston to Sir John Paston.]

I grete you wele, letyng you wete that your brother and his felesshep stand in grete joperte at Cayster, and lakke vetayll; and Dawbeney and Berney be dedde, and diverse other gretly hurt; and they fayll gunnepowder and arrowes, and the place sore brokyn with gonnes of the toder parte, so that, but thei have hasty help, thei be like to lese bothe ther lyves and the place, to the grettest rebuke to you that ever came to any jentilman, for every man in this countre marvaylleth gretly that ye suffre them to be so longe in so gret joperte with ought help or other remedy.

The Duke . . . hath sent for all his tenaunts from every place, and other, to be ther at Cayster at Thorysday next comyng, that ther is than like to be the grettest multitude of pepill that came ther yet. And thei purpose them to make a gret assaught—for thei have sent for gannes to Lynne and other place be the seeys syde—that, with ther gret multitude of gannes, with other shoot and ordynaunce, ther shall no man dar appere in the place. Thei shall hold them so besy with ther gret pepill, that it shall not lye in their pore¹ within to hold it ageyn them with ought God help them, or have hasty socour from you.

Therfor, as ye wull have my blyssyng, I charge you and

¹ Power.

require you that ye se your brother be holpyn in hast. And if ye can have nomeane, rather desire writyng fro my Lord of Clarens, if he be at London, or ell[es] of my Lord Archebusshop of York, to the Duke of Norffolk, that he wull graunte them that be in the place her lyfes and ther goodes; and in eschewyng of insurreccions . . . be cause of such conventicles and gaderyngs within the seid shire for cause of the seid place, thei shall suffre hym to entre up on such appoyntment, or other like takyn be the advyse of your councell ther at London, if ye thynk this be not good, till the law hath determyned otherwyse; and lete hym write a nother letter to your brother to deliver the place up on the same appoyntment. And if ye think, as I can suppose, that the Duke of Norffolk wull not aggre to this, be cause he graunted this aforn, and thei in the place wuld not accept it, than I wuld the seid massanger shuld with the seid letters bryng fro the seid lord of Clarence, or ell[es] my Lord Archebusshop, to my Lord of Oxenford, other letters to rescue them forth with, thowghe the seid Erle of Oxenford shuld have the place duryng his lyfe for his labour.

5.

[Interference by a great lord with the course of justice, 1464.

“Coventry Leet Book,” pp. 331-2. A dispute having arisen between Will. Bedon and Will. Huet, the matter was examined by the Mayor and then referred to the King, who appointed four arbitrators, men of Coventry, by whose decision the parties agreed to be bound. The arbitrators failed to agree, and the Mayor, acting by the King’s orders as umpire and with the advice of the town council, ordered Huet to ask Bedon’s forgiveness and pay him 40s. damages, or, if he refused to do so, ten marks. Huet refused to obey the Mayor, and was imprisoned. The King wrote giving the Mayor “right good and special thank” for his action, and ordering Huet to be kept in prison till he submitted to the orders.]

Memorandum that alle-though the seid Will. Huet were so obstinatly disposed . . . that he wold not obey the decree of the Mair . . . for the which . . . the Mair commyttid hym to warde ; wherof the kyng right specially thankyd hym for that so doying, and wold and charged that he shold be there kept with-out any deliverance un-to the tyme he had fulfylled his seyde decree and receyved such punicion for his riottous demeanyng as shal-be accordyng with his lawes ; the seid Will. Huet then seyng that he most in any wyse obey the seide decre or abyde yn warde styлле, and to suffer als such punicion for his obstinacy in the premisses as the seid Mair wyll deme hym to do ; he then be the meane of his frendes labored un-to my lord of Warrewyk for favour and ease to be had yn the said decree at my lordes instaunce. . . . And theruppon the seid Mair . . . at the seid instaunce leyng rightwesnes apart and folowyng mercy, made his laude and decre thus : that the seid Will. Huet shuld be of good seying and behavyng fro that tyme fourth, and that he shuld yeve the seid Will. Bedon x marc. to amendes toward his costes ; and so he did ; which amountid not to the thryd peny that he had made hym to spende. And yette further at my seid lordes instaunce my worshipfull brethern and I so effectuelly entretyd the seid Will. Bedon that he yave the seid Will. Huet agayn v nobles of the seid x marc.

6.

[A partial magistrate. "Paston Letters," II, 238. Margaret Paston to John Paston, 27 September, 1465.]

I was at Sudbury and spake with the schreve. . . . And I and Ric[hard] informyd hym of the demenyng of hys undrchryf, how parciall he hade be with the other partye, bothe in that mater, and also for the accionnys beyng in the scher ; and he was nothyng wel plesyd of the de-

menyng of his undreschef, and he hat wretyn to hym that he choulde be indeferent for bothe partyes accordyng to the lawe, bothe for that materys and for alle other.

7.

[Examples of the efforts made to suppress livery and maintenance
(a) Royal proclamation in 1461. R.P., V, 487.]

For asmoch as by yevyng of lyverees and signes, contrarie to the statutes and ordenaunces therof made afore tyme, mayntenaunce of quarels, extorcions, robberies, murdres been multiplied and contynued within this reame, to the grete disturbaunce and inquietation of the same.

The Kyng wylling to have remedy of such inconvenients, and his lawes to have his cours, chargeth and commaundeth, that noo lord, spirituall or temporell, from hensforth yeve any lyveree of signe, marke or token of compaignie, but oonly in such tyme as he hath speciall commaundement by the Kyng to reyse people for th'assystyng of hym, resistyng of his ennemyes, or repressyng of riottes within his lande: . . . upon the peyne conteyned in the statutes made in that behalf; and to renne in the Kynges grete displesure.

And also that noo lorde, or other persone of lower astate or degree, spirituall or temporell, yeve any lyveree of clothyng to any persone save to his houshold and menyall men, officers, and counsaillers lerned, spirituall and temporell; nor that any man . . . take uppon hym to were any lyveree of clothyng of any lord . . . upon the peynes comprised in the statutes made in that partie; and over that, to renne in the Kynges grete displeasure.

And . . . that noo lorde . . . wityngly receyve, hold in houshold ne maynteigne pillours, robbers, oppressours of the people, mansleers, felons, outelaws, ravyshours of wymmen, and other open and famous mysdoers ayenst the

lawe . . . uppon payne of the Kynges grete displeasure, and the perell that may ensewe therof.

[(b) Privy seal letter from the King, dated 11 February, 1472, to the mayor and sheriffs of Coventry, against livery and maintenance and consequent injustice and disorder. "Coventry Leet Book" (E.E.T.S.), pp. 373-4.]

Trusty and wel-beloved, we grete you wel. Callyng to our remembraunce and consideracion the gret tempestes, divisions and troubles that in late daies have be in this our reaume, and gret wyldenesse and indisposicion also that hath folowed by occasion wherof, and consequently by embracerye,¹ corrupcion, might and maintenaunce that hath be and daily is used thurgh this our lond, both by yeving of tokenys, lyverees, signes, makyng of reteigndres and otherwyse, we have understand the cours and order of our lawes hath be letted, and might have noo place as it ought to have, nor execucion of justice be ministred, wherof grete extorcions, robberies, mordres and othir gret exorbitaunces and mischeves have ensued unto gret offense and displeasir of God and unto greet hurt of us, of alle our subgittes and the comune wele and policie of all this reaume. And we, entending by alle meanes to us possible to ordeigne and provide for the pacificacion, defence and suretee of the same our land and subgittes, both inwardes and outwardes, and that ministracion of justice may evenly and indifferently be doon as wel unto poure as unto riche withouten any favour or accepcion of persone or persones, have had a ripe comunicacion herein with the lordes of this our reaume, the whiche, everyche and all have accorded, aggreed and also promitted unto us that they wold doo their trewe devoir, labour and effectuell diligence that ministracion of justice have due place, and be putte in due execucion acordyng to our lawes, alle suche absurditees,

¹ Influencing a jury corruptly or illegally.

mischeves and misuses laide apart; and that thei shall noo thing doo or attempte nor suffre to be doo or attempted by theym, any of theirs, or othir-wyse howsoever it be, in favour of any cause or persone, be it of their owyne servauntes or tenauntes or any othir by any colour or occasion whatsoever it be, wherby the due order and cours of our lawes or ministracion and execucion of justice in any wyse may be deferred, hurted or letted. Wherefore we signifie unto you thees thinges to thentent that among your self ye also ordeigne and see that alle thinges that hath be and is used contrarie to our said lawes, and our said entente and purpose be corrected, amended and putte aparte, and soo we charge youe to doo with alle diligence; and also that noo reteindres, lyverees, signes ne tokenys of clothing, nor othir wyse be taken, had nor used by thinhabitauntes of our citie of Coventre contrarie to our lawes and statutes ordeigned and provided in suche behalf, and if any presume or take upon hym to doo or attempte the contrarie and woll not be reformed, we woll and charge you that withoute any excuse or delaye ye expelle and putte hym oute of the same our citie, and in noo wyse suffre him to abide there, certifying us in alle possible hast what he is, whoos lyveree he usith, and whoo susteigneth hym, not sparyng any persone whatsoever he be. And over this wher ther be divers and many vagabundes, and ungoodly and ille disposed persones, entending commocion and trouble of this our lande and quiet and pees of the same, renne thurgh the same oure lande sowying sede of discord and division in making and telling of tithinges, fals lesing and tales to thentent above-said, we woll and straitly charge you that whan and as oft [MS. torn] persone or persones within our said citee of jurisdiction of the same, ye with [MS. torn] in all hast certifie us therof to thentent we may provide for the [MS. torn].

8.

[The King's attempts to have the laws kept and to redress grievances.

1461. (a) "Paston Letters," II, 76.]

Yelverton lete the pepoll understand that the Kyng wold have his lawes kept, and that he was dysplesed with the maner of ther gaderyng, and that he wold have it amendyd; for he conceyveth . . . that ther mysdoynge growyth not of ther owyn dysposysyon but of the abbette-ment and steryng of sum ille dysposed persones whiche is understand and knowe to the Kynges hygthnesse. Item, he lete hem wete that the Kyng had commandyd hym to sey if ther were any man, pore or ryche, that had cause to complayne of any person that he schuld put up his bylle to the shref and hym, and they schuld set a reule be twyx hem; and if he wold not abyde ther reule they schuld deliver the sayd bylle of compleynt to the Kynges hignesse, and he schuld set the rewle and suche dyreccion that the party compleynaunt or defendaunt schuld be punysshed for his dysobeysauns of the said rewle if the case requyred; and also more over, if ther were ony person that put up ony suche bylle, and it myght apere to them by ther examinacion or other wyse fals or untrewe, or elles be cause of malyce, that than suche compleynaunts schuld sharply be punysshed.

[(b) Stow's "Annales," p. 416b. 1462.]

In Michaelmas Tearme, King Edward sate in the king's bench three daies together, in open Court, to understand how his lawes were executed.

[(c) The severity of the King's justice. "Croyland Chronicle," second continuation, p. 559. (Latin.)]

[After the Treaty of Pequigny] some persons immediately began to condemn this deed; wherefore suitable

punishment was given to their presumption. Others returning home betook themselves to theft and robbery, so that no road in England was safe for merchants and pilgrims.

Therefore the King himself was compelled to travel through his realm with his justices, sparing none even of his own household, but rather that they should be hanged, if they were caught in theft or murder. And by the execution everywhere of this stern justice, highway robbery soon ceased.

9.

[Un-English methods of trial: (a) the use of torture. A certain Hawkins tried to borrow money for Queen Margaret from Sir Thomas Cooke, formerly Lord Mayor of London, who refused to lend. Stow, "*Annales*," p. 420*b*, from the Great Chronicle of London, f. 178.]

Which so rested two or three yeeres after, till the said Hawkins was cast in the Tower, and at length brought to the brake, called the Duke of Excesters daughter (because hee was the deviser of that torture) by meanes of which paine, hee shewed many things, among the which, the motion he had made to Sir Thomas Cooke was one.

[(b) A trial in the Constable's court by Roman law, termed "law padowe" from its being taught at the University of Padua. Warkworth's "*Chronicle*," p. 5.]

And in the Vth yere of Kynge Edward¹, the Erle of Oxenforde, the Lord Abrey his sonne, and Sere Thomas Todenam knyght, were taken, and brought into the Toure of Londone, and there was leyde to them hye tresone; and afterwarde thei were brought before the Erle of Worscetre,² and juged by lawe padowe that thei schuld be hade to the Toure Hylle, where was made a scaffolde of VIII fote

¹ Really 1462.

² Constable of England.

hyght, and ther was there hedes smyten of, that alle menne myght see; whereof the moste peple were sory.

10.

[The Court of Star Chamber. (a) Exemplification of a decree, made on 13 November, 1471, at the request of the plaintiffs in a case decided by the Court. "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," II, 384-6.]

Edward by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come greeting. We have seen the tenor of an act before us and our Council remaining amongst others in the office of our Privy Seal in the Chamber of our Council called "le Sterre Chambre" within our palace of Westminster, issued and made the twenty-fourth day of October last past in these words:—

In the matier of complaint of the Maire, Aldermen and Communalte of the town of Nottingham purposed afore the King oure souveraigne Lorde and his Counsail ayenst Robert Hamson, Richard Alestre, Thomas Shaw, Thomas Hudson, and othir, upon grete riottis, excesses and mys-governances surmised to be committed by the seid Robert and othir, as alle at large is expressed in the saide bille of complainte: after the answeere of the seid Robert, Richard, Thomas, and Thomas, being personelly present, yeven unto the seid compleinte, the replicacion also therto of the seid Maire, Aldermen and Comminalte, and alle that coude be saide and allegged by either partie in that behalf, with alle other petitions and requestis upon either partie made, herde and understande, and grete deliberacion there upon taken by oure saide souveraigne Lorde, by thavis of his saide Counsail, the xxiii day of Octobre, the xi^e yere of the regne of the same oure souveraigne Lorde, in the Sterre Chambre at Westminster, in plaine Counsail, the Kinges Highnesse being present, and afore hym bothe the

parties abovesaid, it was, by his high commandement, shewed, opened and declared by the mouthe of his Chaunceller of Englande in fourme as foloweth:—

[The plaintiffs had asked that the defendants should be committed to Nottingham goal; this is refused, as it is not supported by any matter of record, but if such record exists, the plaintiffs may proceed in the matter according to law. Other persons mentioned in the complaint, who have not appeared, shall be arrested and dealt with according to law. The plaintiffs shall find surety for good behaviour for twelve months, and shall then re-appear before the King and Council.]

And over this, oure said sovveraigne Lorde by his owne mouthe asked and questioned Henre, Lord Grey, thenne present, whethir alle the othir persones named in the seid complainte and articles of the same were his servantes and towards hym, and whether he wold bringe them in or noo to answe; the same Lord Grey thenne answering to oure said sovveraigne Lorde that they were nat his servantz, and that he coude nat bringe them in to answe. And theruppon oure said sovveraigne Lorde gaf the same Lord Gray in straitte commaundement and iniunction, that he shuld nat supporte, favour ne mayntene them or any [of] them contrarie to his lawes from thensforth, as he wold answe to oure said sovveraigne Lorde, and upon the peyne that wold falle theruppon, and over that, that from thensforth the seid Lorde Grey, his servantes ne tenantes, ne noon other persone or persones by or for hym, his servantes ne tenantes, schulde do or attempte to doo any thing ayenst the seid Maire, Aldermen and Cominalte, ne the inhabitantes of the seid towne of Notingham, contrarie to the lawes and peas of oure said sovveraigne Lorde, and that the same Lord Grey schulde relese and discharge alle persones of the seid towne of Notingham as ben witholde and towards hym, if any be, by reteneur or promisse of service by them, or any of them, made to hym, contrarie

to the lawes and Statutes of oure said sovveraigne Lorde, and no more to make any suche reteneur, ne to give any lyvere or signe to any persone of the seid towne ageyns the lawe . . . alle which commaundementes of oure said sovveraigne Lorde the seid Lord Grey saide that he wold kepe and obeie them according to his commaundement. . . .

[(b) A case before the Court of Star Chamber in 1473. Year Books, 13 Edward IV, Easter Term, ff. 9, 9b. (French.) The Chancellor and several judges were present.]

In the Star Chamber before the King's Council a certain matter was shown and debated, in which one man had a bargain with another to carry certain bales with etc., and other things to Southampton; he had taken and carried them to another place, and broken open the bales, and feloniously taken the goods contained in them, and converted them to his own use. . . . And it was moved by some to the Chancellor that this matter ought to be determined at common law, and not here. *The Chancellor*: This suit is taken by a merchant alien who has come here under safe-conduct, and he is not bound to sue according to the course of the law of the land and abide the trial of twelve men and other solemnities of the law of the land, but is to sue here.

11.

[Grant to the Bishop of Norwich, on petition for confirmation of the liberties and franchises granted by the King's predecessors, and by Henry VI by Letters Patent, dated 27 November, 1460, of the right of appointing Justices of Peace in his town of Lynn. Patent Roll, 1 Edward IV., pt. 3, m. 16, "Calendar," p. 81. 8 December, 1461.]

Know ye that of our special grace we have granted to the venerable father in God the Bishop of Norwich that he and all his successors bishops of that place shall have power of assigning, constituting and making by their com-

missions within their town or borough of Bishop's Lynn from time to time as often as they shall see needful and necessary their Justices of Peace to exercise, do, hear and determine all and singular matters in that town which belong in any wise to Justices of Peace. . . . And that no Justice of Peace of us our heirs or successors within any county of our realm of England shall in any wise enter the aforesaid town or borough or any part of the same to exercise any office there nor shall he have any cognisance of jurisdiction in any affairs . . . arising within the same or any part of it . . . and that the aforesaid Bishop and his successors shall have all and singular fines, issues and amercements before the Bishop's aforesaid Justices of Peace.

12.

[Extracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Carshalton. "Surrey Record Society," pp. 76-80. (Latin.) View of frank pledge was part of the sheriff's jurisdiction in the hundred court, but the right to hold it in particular manors was often in private hands. It dealt with petty criminal and administrative business, while in the manorial court properly so called, copyhold land was transferred and small law-suits between tenants were settled. The sums entered against the names represent the fines imposed.]

View of frank pledge with court held there on Wednesday after Hockday in the twenty-second (?) year of King Edward IV.

William Punchon [and three others] tithing-men there, being sworn, present that John Wever (ii d.) [and five others, each fined twopence] make default of suit at this view. Therefore they are in mercy. And that John Buklond (xii d.) and William Redford (xii d.) are millers and take excessive tolls, etc. And that John Burnet is a baker of bread and sells bread weighing less than the assize, therefore he is in mercy. And that Angustus Subborne (iiii d.) William Redford and John Skinner are common

breakers of hedges to the common harm, therefore they are in mercy. . . .

Thomas Christemas and William Aglond, ale-tasters there, being sworn, present that John Bukley (ii d.) [and eight others] brew and break the assize of ale, therefore they are in mercy.

John Burnet, William Punchon and Adam Aillot came there and gave their fines to the lord for brewing ale until Michaelmas next coming.

Verdict. Inquisition taken concerning all articles touching this view and presented above by the tithingmen, by the oath of twelve sworn freemen . . . who say and confirm all things presented above and have concealed nothing from their notice, etc.

The Court.

Excuses. Edmund Bukley of the common by William Say.

The homage there sworn present that Thomas Burgh (iiii d.) John Randolf (iiii d.) and Thomas Wodlond (iiii d.) are free tenants and make default of suit at this court. Therefore they are in mercy.

[View and court held on 30 September in the same year.]

William Ponchon [and three others] were there [i.e. at the view] relieved from the office of tithingmen. And Richard Cotes [and three others] were elected in their places, and remain sworn thereupon.

Thomas Carter was there relieved from the office of constable, and William Ponchon was elected in his place, and remains sworn thereupon.

The Court.

To this court came William Say and Anne his wife, and she alone being examined in court by the Seneshall, they surrendered into the lord's hand a toft of land called Colswaynes containing one acre of land, with one

[blank] of land containing by estimation six acres of land lying on the west side of the same toft, for the use of Nicholas Gainsford esquire, John Gainsford and Walter Gainsford sons of the said Nicholas. [The Seneshall] granted to them and their heirs and assigns to have seisin at the lord's will according to the custom of the manor for rent [blank] by year at the usual terms and other services therefrom due and accustomed. And they give the lord two capons as fine for having the position. And they swore fealty to the lord and were admitted as tenants.

[View of frank pledge held on Wednesday after the Invention of the Cross (3 May), 1484.]

[The tithingmen present] that John Fox (ii d.) chaplain wrongfully and against the King's peace assaulted John Merkely with a 'chip' of no value, therefore he is in mercy. And that the same John Fox (ii d.) chaplain wrongfully, etc., assaulted William Pounchon with a knife price one penny. And that the same William Pownchon justly drew blood from the same John to the hurt of the same John Fox (iiii d.) with a bill, etc. . . . And that Henry Lee incurs a penalty of six shillings and eightpence because he has not repaired nor mended the king's road to the fullingmills pond. [At the last view he had been ordered under this penalty to mend it.] And nevertheless he was ordered to amend and repair it before the next view on pain of six shillings and eightpence. And that Robert Hedeleygh (viii d.) allows his ditches to lie uncleaned on each side of the king's way leading from Longcroft to Oldefeld Gate, therefore he is in mercy. And he is ordered to amend this before the next view on pain of forty pence.

13.

[Benefit of clergy, P.R.O., Ancient Indictments, bundle 110. Roll of sessions of the Justices of Peace at Winchester, 1475. (Latin.) The jury presented several persons for assault and robbery, among them William Wodeward, yeoman, who had assaulted a man and robbed him of 40s. After several of the other prisoners had been found guilty] :—

The aforesaid William Wodeward says that he is a clerk and asks for clerical benefit to be allowed to him in that behalf, etc. And upon this comes a certain Master Edward Hanyngton, deputy of William by divine permission Bishop of Winchester ordinary of that place, and vicegerent of the Bishop to claim and receive whatsoever clerks are here impleaded or accused before the aforesaid Justices of whatsoever crime [here follows a copy of letters patent of the Bishop giving him authority to do so, and to take such clerks to the Bishop's prison]. And a book having been given to the aforesaid William Wodeward by the court, the same William reads as a clerk and the said deputy asks that he shall be delivered as a clerk to the aforesaid ordinary, etc. Wherefore it is considered that the same William Wodeward shall be delivered to the aforesaid ordinary by reason of the aforesaid, to be safely kept until, etc., under penalty that may fall, etc.

14.

[A frequent result of benefit of clergy : pardon to a bishop for the escape of clerks convict from his prison, 1 May, 1463. Patent Roll, 3 Edward IV, pt. 1, m. 16. (Latin.) "Calendar," p. 263.]

Know ye that . . . we have pardoned, remitted and released to the venerable father John Bishop of Worcester the evasions and escapes of John Waughan, Roger Glover and Walter ap John, attainted clerks, who broke the prison of the palace of the said Bishop in the town of Worcester and escaped ; and all manner of evasions and escapes made

and effected before the date of these presents of whatsoever prisoners attainted or convicted of felony or felonies and lately being in the aforesaid prison in the custody of the said Bishop.

15.

[The right of sanctuary. A fugitive from justice was safe for forty days if he fled to a church, and during that time he might send for a coroner, confess his crime, and swear to leave the realm for ever. He was then allowed to go to the nearest port, wearing distinctive dress, and take ship abroad. There was also another type of sanctuary, depending on the existence of private rights of jurisdiction which made it impossible for the King's law and the King's officers to reach the offender who fled to it. This protection was permanent. One of the places which could give it was the county palatine of Durham, which had its own judicial system and was quite independent of royal justice. Case at Durham, printed from the episcopal registers in "*Sanctuarium Dunelmense*" (Surttees Society), p. 8, no. XVIII. (Latin.)]

James Kipling, late of Baldersdale in the parish of Rombalekirk, in the diocese of York, on Christmas Day, in the year of Our Lord 1479, came to the Cathedral Church of Durham and in the presence of me Edward Bell, clerk, notary public, and the underwritten witnesses, rang the bell, earnestly begging the immunity of the said church and the liberty of St. Cuthbert, because he the said James, together with Ralph Hagon, on Sunday next before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene last past [22 July], at Baldersdale aforesaid, assaulted a certain William Wightman, and feloniously struck the same William on the left shin and left arm with a club; of which, and of other wounds, the same William died within three days afterwards, as it is said. For which felony, and all others before this time committed by the same James, the said James begged the aforesaid immunity. William Symson, Henry Masse and Christofer More, witnesses called and specially required for the aforesaid.

16.

[The abuse of privilege of sanctuary. Extracts from the Duke of Buckingham's speech to the Council on the question of taking the Duke of York out of sanctuary at Westminster, 1483. More's "History of King Richard III," ed. Lumby, p. 28 *et seqq.* Westminster was one of the permanent sanctuaries depending on the possession of jurisdiction.]

Verelye sithe the privileges of that place and other lyke, have been of long continued, I am not he that woulde bee aboute to breake them. And in good faith if they were nowe to begynne, I woulde not bee he that shoulde bee aboute to make them. Yet wyll I not saye naye, but that it is a deede of pitie, that suche menne, as the sea or theyr evill dettours have broughte in povertye, shoulde have somme place of libertye, to keepe their bodies oute of the daunger of their cruell creditours. And also yf the crowne happen (as it hathe done) to comme in questyon, whyle eyther parte taketh other as traytours, I wyll well there bee somme places of refuge for bothe. But as for theeves, of whiche these places bee full, and which never fall fro the crafte, after thei once falle thereto, it is pitie the saintuarye shoulde serve them. And muche more mannequellers, whome Godde badde to take from the aulter and kyll them yf theyr murther were wylfull. . . .

Nowe unthriftes ryote and runne in dette, uppon the boldenesse of these places; yea and ryche menne runne thither with poore mennes goodes, there they builde, there thei spende and bidde their creditours gooe whistle them. Mens wyves runne thither with theyr housebandes plate, and saye thei dare not abyde with theyr housebandes for beatinge. Theves bryng thyther theyr stollen goodes, and there lyve thereon. There devise thei newe roberies, nightlye they steale out, they robbe and reve and kyll, and come in again as though those places gave them not onely a safe garde for the harme they have done, but a licence also to dooe more. . . .

And with that divers of the clergy that wer present, whither thei said it for his pleasure, or as thei thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of God and of the church the goodes of a saintuarye man shoulde be delivered in paiment of his dets, and stollen goodes to the owner, and onelye libertie reserved him to geat his lyving with the labour of his handes.

BOOK III. ECCLESIASTICAL.

1.

[The monasteries. (a) Visitation of Titchfield by Bishop Redman of St. Asaph, 22 July, 1478. "Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia" (C.S.), Vol. III, 126. (Latin.)]

We have visited the monastery of Techfelde, of our Order, in the diocese of Winchester; where we have found nothing worthy of our correction or of report to the general Chapter. But for the reformation of certain matters we have ordered and strictly enjoined, that the whole convent shall in time of fasting eat together in the refectory, that they may be bound by the true obligation, and there and in other appointed places they shall keep perfect silence. Also we prohibit a certain abuse of genuflection, that neither the deacon nor subdeacon shall genuflect at the time of elevation at mass, nor the priest, save only once before the elevation of the Sacrament. And from the beginning of the elevation of the Sacrament until the end, one of the larger bells shall be rung continuously, with separate strokes, both at matins and at high mass. Also we have commanded that all the brothers shall always wear almuces both under and over their capes, under a penalty for contempt. At the last visitation the said monastery owed forty pounds, but now practically nothing; by the praiseworthy foresight of the authorities all things within and without are provided for abundantly.

[(b) Visitation of Welbeck by Bishop Redman and the Abbot of Beauchief, 1482. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-5. (Latin.)]

We have visited the monastery of Welbeck, of the Premonstratensian Order, both in head and members.

In which visitation, having made diligent inquiry and heard all depositions and complaints and also had very accurate information from all and singular canons and brothers of the said monastery, we clearly discovered there great enormities and disgraceful things, the scandal of which is spread abroad; especially that the abbot of the aforesaid monastery was extremely wasteful of all goods, not only of movables but of immovables; he has allowed tenements to fall entirely into ruins for lack of repair; he has alienated to great men the lands, woods, and tithes of his monastery, many by letters of obligation sealed with the common seal and that of his office, to the utmost distress of the said monastery, contrary to the will and plain opinion of his brethren.

In addition he has pledged and absolutely dissipated all the jewels and vessels of the monastery by his lack of prudence, in so much that at the present time he had not in his own possession a single silver cup to set before us in our present visitation; nor one dish, napkin, silver salt-cellar or any other vessel, to his great confusion.

And in addition the aforesaid monastery is in great ruin and the greatest misery; because he did no repairs there during the time of his rule. In the woods, he cut down and sold a great number of his trees and bushes, and left it so unhedged and unditched, that he absolutely destroyed all those things. He sold and bartered away all the oxen, all the sheep, indeed all the animals. In addition the service was often omitted or diminished through entire lack of oil, wax and wine.

And further we found in the same our visitation, that the said abbot lived and lives most incontinently, having immoral relations with divers women, by whom he has had several children at present living; who have been supported hitherto out of the goods of the said monastery. He has not paid to his convent the stipends assigned by

the general Chapter for their clothing. He has not been ashamed to play at tables and other games the whole day and night with buffoons and other such persons, having no consideration for his own dignity ; and with the aforesaid persons he has in various ways squandered and wasted the goods of the monastery.

Wishing to find a remedy for these and many other matters (kept from our ears by certain persons) . . . we have relieved the said abbot of the administration and possession of the temporalities ; and . . . we have charged him to go to the monastery of Barlings ; and we have commanded him to remain there until our next visitation : . . .

And further we have extended to William Bradford and Crystophor Hesylla, brothers of the same monastery, detected before us of incontinence, apostacy and rebellion against the abbot, a similar sentence and judgment, until our aforesaid next visitation. The house is in most abject poverty with regard to corn and other necessities, in so much that the brethren bewail their lot.

2.

[Lawlessness among the secular clergy. (a) Letter from Margaret Paston to John Paston, 18 July, 1461. "Paston Letters," II, p. 32.]

Ryth worchepful husbond, I recomawnd me to yow. Plesyt yow to wete that I am desyrid be Sir John Tatersale to wryte to yow for a comyssion . . . for to be sent down into this cuntre to sit uppon the parson of Snoryng, and on soche as was cause of Thomas Denyssys dethe, and for many and gret horebyl robbryys ; and as for the costs ther of the cuntre wele pay therfor, for they be sor aferd but¹ the seyde dethe be chastysed, and the seyde robbryys, they are aferde that mo folks xal be servyd in lyke wyse.

As for the prest and vi of hese men that be takyn, they

¹ Unless.

be delyveryt to Twer [Twyer] and iiii be with hem of the cuntreys cost, for to be sent with to the Kyng ; and yf they be browt up, at the reverens of God do your parte that they schape¹ not, but that they may have the jugement of the lawe, and as they have deservyd, and be comytyt to prison, not to departe tyl they be inquiryd of her forseyd robbery be soche a comyssion that ye can get, that the Keng and the lords may hondyrstonde wat rewle they have be of, not hondely for the moderys and the robbryys, but as wele for the gret insurrexxin that they were lyke [to] amade within the shyre.

[(b) P.R.O. Ancient Indictments, bundle 311, no. 2. Inquisition taken before the Justices of Peace at Deptford, Kent. 1465. (Latin.)]

[15 jurors] say upon oath that John Mallery, vicar of the parish church of Leuesham in the aforesaid county, on Sunday next after the quindene of Holy Trinity [1465], purposing to disobey the laws and customs of the realm of the king of England and all good rule, and not willing to justify himself according to law, at Leuesham in the aforesaid church, openly in the pulpit there, all his parishioners being then and there present, spoke with a loud voice and incited them that whensoever the sheriff of Kent, his undersheriff or any official of our said lord the king should attempt to execute any writ, precept or mandate on behalf of our said lord the king within the town of Leuesham aforesaid, that then immediately upon this the great bell of the aforesaid church should be rung, and that upon that ringing all the inhabitants of the aforesaid town should gather themselves together and should capture and kill the said sheriff, undersheriff or other official of our said lord the king, wishing to execute such writ, precept or mandate ; and the same John Mallery, intending to carry out his aforesaid wicked proposal, on Tuesday next after

¹ Escape.

the said Sunday upon the coming of Thomas Styvour, one of the bailiffs of our lord the king in the aforesaid county, into the aforesaid town to exercise his office there and to execute the mandate directed to him by John Bygges esquire then sheriff of Kent on behalf of our said lord the king, rang the great bell of the aforesaid church there. Whereupon the same John Mallery and the greater part of the inhabitants of the aforesaid town to the number of a hundred persons unknown, in the manner of a new insurrection, with force and arms that is to say with swords, clubs, bows, arrows . . . gathered themselves together to kill the said Thomas Styvour if he should wish to execute any writ, precept or mandate there on behalf of our said lord the king, against the peace of our lord the king etc.

3.

[A monastic quarrel. "Gloucester Annals," printed in Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, p. 357. (Latin.) About 1463. A similar quarrel at the abbey of Buckland, Devon, may be traced in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-77.]

Great discord arose between John Schoyare prior of Lanthony and John Heywarde late prior of the same place. On account of it the foresters rose in arms on behalf of John Schoyare to strengthen his party. On the other side was the community of Gloucester with the local gentry in support of John Heywarde. A great fight took place between the two parties. For the foresters and the community of Gloucester meeting at Lanthony, many were wounded on both sides and several killed, as it was said. Wherefore the canons of the aforesaid place, being greatly frightened, left their house and fled to the Earl of Warwick, and carried away the goods of the monastery with them. And so they stayed for eight months at Hanley Castle, performing religious duties and divine service there, and for fear of the foresters of their prior, namely

John Schoyer, they dared not dwell in their own house. But afterwards the aforesaid prior John Schoyere was compelled to return to his own house by king Edward IV. So after long disturbance between him and John Heywarde late prior, and the expenditure of much money, the canons of the aforesaid house were again gathered together and returned home with all that they had. But that Schoyer persevering in his malice again imprisoned certain of the canons. And for this cause fearing the people, who did not love him but abused him the more, he despoiled his monastery of Lanthony and carried off the goods with him.

4.

[Quarrel between the regular and secular clergy, 1465. "Gregory's Chronicle," pp. 228-32.]

Alle soo that yere be-ganne a gre[at] cyssym by twyne fryers and prystys, but the Fryer Charmys,¹ that ys to saye the Whyte Freers, be-ganne hyt fyrste at Poules Crosse. He that be-ganne thys matyr was borne in Flete Strete, a skyner ys sone, and hys name ys Syr Harry Parker; he blamyd men for there grete copy² of hyr goodys, and in specyalle he blamy[d] benefysyd men that had grete benyficys and prestys that had temporalle lyffelod. For he sayd and affermyd that non of the xii Apostolys nor Cryste hadde no thyng in propyr³ but alle in comyn, and sayd and affyrmyd by hys connyng, as strong as he cowthe, that Cryste was a begger and had nought but by way of almys. And that made men to groge and to muse passyng soore.

But the Sonday aftyr there was a docter of devynyte, Maystyr Wylliam Ive, the mayster of Whytyngdon ys College, sayde agayne the fryer, and prevyd that Cryste was poore and kepte noo grete tresoure, but as for beggyng he

¹ Carmelites.² Amount.³ Private ownership.

utterly denyde hyt, and by hooly scrypture prevyd hit soo that men undyrstode that the fryer erryd sore agayne Hooly Chyrche; and thenne the fryers gan malyngne a gayne thys docter. Thenne in Advende they prevyde a docter of the Whyte Fryers, Mastyr Thomas Haldon, and that he schulde preche agayne the Mayster Wylliam Ive before sayd, and there he talkyd moke of the beggyng of Cryste, and put the pepylle [in hope] that the same mater schulde ben determenyd in there scholys by twyne hym and a Grey Fryer at the White Fryers in Flete Strete the Wanyss-daye vii nyght aftyr. And the Sonday folowyng, a docter of devynyte, Mayster Edwarde Story, person of Alle Halowys the More in London, and aftyr confessor unto the Quene, and aftyr that Byschoppe of Carlylle, prechyd at Poulys Crosse, and as moche as he myght wolde have passefyde the mater, and sayde that hyt [was] blasphemy soo to reherse and say by oure Lord Cryste. But that same Sonday the fryers set uppe byllys at every chyrche dore that the docter sayde nott tought, but the tought shulde be schewyd and sayd by Docter Mayster John Mylverton, the pryor of the same place, and he was provyncyalle of the same ordyr. And that aftyr noone in hys sarmon he raylyd soore and grevysly to fortify hys bretheryn ys sayyngys, that sum laye men were wrothe with the fryers and whythedrewe hyr almys from them; and sum men were not plesyd with hyr cures, and sayde that they hadde noo ryght to have any offerynge but lyffe by almys as Cryste dyde; and thys men were devydyd, sum welle and sum ylle.

[The quarrel continued for some time, and finally came to the Pope's knowledge.]

Thenn the Pope . . . inquiryde of suche men as come late owte of Inglonde of the mater; and whenne he undyrstode the mater, he wrote downe to the Arche Byschoppe

of Cauntyrbury and to the Byschoppe of London, and thonkyd hem that they were so trewe to Cryste and Hooly Chyrche, and desyryd to have alle the hoole mater and prosesse i-sende unto hym by wrytynge. And so hyt was, every thyng as ny as they couthe ymageny, puttyng alle favyr and parcyallyte and malysce a syde. . . .

And the kynge toke a grete party on thys mater, for thes fryers hadde causyd moche trobylle a monge hys pepylle, and therefore he desyryd that holy fadyr the Pope to chastysse suche trespassserys and brekers of the pesse, and send forthe a letter with the othyr letters.

Thenne the Pope ressayved thes letters, and undyrstode alle the hoole processe, and made hys cardynallys to exampne the fryer, and by hys answeynghe they found ix moo poyntys that he erryd on, and sone aftyr he was put into the castylle of Angylle in stronge preson, and laye there yn alle moste iii yere. . . . And then he lackyd mony and frende schyppe, [and] submyttyd hym to the Pope.

5.

[The King's attitude towards Papal taxation. From the Register of Archbishop Boothe of York. Wilkins, "Concilia," III, 598. (Latin.)]

In order that a subsidy for the expedition against the Turks might be collected in England, the pope sent bulls thither; but king Edward, studying how to anticipate their execution, asks the archbishop to call together a synod to obtain a certain subsidy to be sent to the pope. The tenor of the royal letters directed to the archbishop, drawn up in the English idiom, is this :

"The king sends a letter to the archbishop in English, dated at York the 11th day of June, wherein he gives him to understand, that the pope determining to put his person into the blessed viage, by his holiness proposed, against the Turks, desired to have a disme laid upon the clergy of

England toward the socour of the said viage, and had to that effect sent his bulls into this kingdom. To prevent the inconveniences that might follow by the examples of such impositions hereafter, whereof the like hath non been in times put in ure in the days of his noble progenitors, being right loth to suffer such new impositions take effect in his days, he was advised to raise such a subsidy, by his own authority, as might satisfie the pope, and prevent the execution of the said bulls; and therefore he desires, exhorts and prays the archbishop to write to his suffragans to call their clergy together, and exhort them to grant him such a subsidy to be levyed in all haste, as mowt honorably, reasonably and thankfully please and content our said holy fader, and appoints and names six commissioners to receive at the hands of such collectors, as shall be appointed by the clergy to levy it." Having received these letters, the archbishop directs a mandate to the prelates and clergy of his diocese, dated 23 June, A.D., 1464, the twelfth year of his translation, to assemble in the parish church of Doncaster on Friday, 13 July; in which synod a subsidy of six pence in the pound was granted to the King.

6.

[Anti-papalism in England. Letter written from Gravelines to the Duke of Milan by Pietro Aliprando, his servant and envoy, 25 November, 1472. C.S.P., Milan, I, no. 240.]

I will set forth briefly what has happened to me of late with the English. In the morning they are as devout as angels, but after dinner they are like devils, seeking to throw the pope's messengers into the sea.

I had experience of this these last months when I was at the port of Calais to pass to London, in the company of the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy and those of the King of Scotland, who came from the Duke's camp. I was arrested as a messenger of the pope. They said that

I brought briefs and bulls in favour of the Archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, detained by the king, who had sent them to prevent me from crossing, or any other person who came from Rome. When I perceived this, I protested that I had not come direct from Rome, and had nothing against the King. I offered to show them my letters and commissions, or else asked them to allow me to return, but they would not, saying that I should send for a safe-conduct from the king. I showed them this and told them how I had been well received by his Majesty in England for more than forty days. At last, as the shortest way, I brought a horse to Bovere, and then with some servants and in disguise, I crossed the stream to this place of the duke on the frontiers of England. . . .

Although I have sent to the king for a placet to cross, I shall reflect a long time before I put myself in the hands of the English again. I mean to excommunicate them and send the interdict, so that they may go to Rome for the trick they have played upon me.

It is reported that they have also arrested at Calais that cavalier, ambassador of the King of Scotland, to whom they had given a safe-conduct. Thus they do not keep faith and are evil islanders, who are born with tails. . . . This ambassador was desperate because those English have broken his safe-conduct, and will not allow him to pass and return. I have been assured that if he had passed the sea he would have been murdered, not because the king intended it, but because some thought that he went to collect tenths.

. . . O my lord, when I speak of the English, your Excellency must understand those old prelates, abbots or other fat priests who rule the Council, and have represented to the king that he must have all who come from Rome arrested, with great shame of the Court.

[(b) Letter from the same to the same, 6 December, 1472, from Abbeville. *Ibid.*, no. 242.]

The English are trying for a council against the pope, who keeps a commissioner here who is the cause of the mischief.

7.

[Oath administered to an abbot before going abroad. "Literæ Cantuarienses" (R.S.), III, 243-4.]

Ye shall no thyng sue or procure to be sued in the Court of Rome, nor in noon other place beyond the see, any thyng that may be hurtyng or prejudiciall to the King our Soverain Lord or hys corowne, nor to any of hys subgettez; nor any thyng doe or attempt that ys or may be contrary to the lawes of his lande. Ye shall faithfully and stedfastly abyde his true liegeman, and noo communicacyon have with the kynges rebelles, nor them, or any of them, in any wyse asciste. And yf ye happe in any wyse to know any thyng that may be hurtyng or prejudiciall to hys sayd Hyghnesse, thenne ye shall, in all the hast that ye canne or may, certyfy hys sayd Hyghnesse or his counsell. So God yow help and all hys holy sayntz and by thys booke.

8.

[Popular contempt of a Papal bull, 1468. "Gregory's Chronicle" (C.S.), p. 238.]

Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners,¹ and cursyd thoo that made any longe pykys passynge ii yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a pone the Sonday, ne put no shoo a pon no man ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a pon the Sonday uppon payne of cursynge. And the kyng grauntyd in a Conselle and in the Parlement that hyt

¹ Shoemakers.

shulde be put in excecussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poullys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe pykys whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys. And with in schorte tyme aftyr sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make longe pykys, and causyd tho same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the dystruccyon of longe pykys to be trobelyd and in grete donger.

9.

[Opposition to clerical fees and exactions. (a) P.R.O., "Early Chancery Proceedings," bundle 31, no. 163.]

Mekely besechith and piteously compleyneth unto your gracious lordeship John Gody, person of the parysshe cherche of Lannyvet in the counte of Cornnwaylle, that . . . oon Thomas Harry of the seide parishe, tynner, with many other evell disposid people to the nombre of a C and mo . . . acompanyed and confederyd a yens all good feith and consiens the first Sonday of the moneth of January in the first yere in the reigne of our most dred liege lord kyng Edward the Fourth riottouslye entrid into the seyd churche of Lannyvet, your seyd oratour [being] at highe masse, and then and ther lete make an opyn proclamacyon by oon John Oppy then wardeyn of the seyde churche charchyng that no man shuld fro thens forth offerre with any corse comyng to the same churche excepte oonly the masse peny uppon a gret peyne by them to be putte, all be it the contrarie ther of ever was used be forne. And also that no maner of man shuld be so hardy to save or bye any tethyng corne of your seyde besecher.

[(b) Extract from a similar petition by the parson of Padstow. *Ibid.*, bundle 33, no. 210.]

Thomas Schapton hath openly said that hyt suffisith on Good Fryday a man to offre on to the Crosse a heire

of his heed and that a woman offre a pyn . . . and that hit is foly to offre for dede bodeis for hit doith non other good but makith the prustis riche, whiche wordis have so sterid symple folk that thay myche with draw here dewteis and devociions froe the said cherche.

[(c) The heretic Wyllys (*infra*, no. 10) said, in explaining his views about offerings made to images]:—

That the saints being in Heaven do not need the goods of men on earth, and he says that they are not adored by such offerings so made to the same images, but those priests are adored by the receiving of such offerings. And he says further that it would be more suitable and requisite to expend and distribute the money so offered among the poor and needy than so to offer it as is aforesaid.

10.

[The trial of James Wyllys for heresy before the Bishop of Lincoln, August, 1462. "Lincoln Episcopal Registers," Chedworth, f. 57b, *et seqq.* (Latin.)]

First the aforesaid James was asked where he was born, and he said in reply, in the town of Bristol; being asked further how old he was, he said that he is sixty years of age, one year only excepted. Also being asked where he dwelt and carried on his occupation, he said that he was apprenticed in the town of Bristol to the art of weaving and dwelt there by the space of thirteen years continuously and more, and so departing from the same town for some time and returning to the same during several years following.

Also being asked further if he knew the Epistles of St. Paul and the Apocalypse, he says that he does. Namely that he had read through those books, translated into his mother tongue, and also the Gospel of St. Luke translated into the English tongue. Being asked further who and what manner of man was his teacher, he said in reply that

he was a certain William Smyth of the town of Bristol aforesaid, from whom he bought those books and who taught him the doctrine which he holds, which same William Smyth was judged by the Bishop of Worcester on account of his opinions, and was handed over to the secular power and burnt. . . .

Being asked further whether he had confessed and communicated as a faithful Christian, he said that last Lent he had confessed twice to the parish chaplain of Lokynge, and had communicated on Easter Day with others as a faithful Christian, but he said that he had not received that sacrament except in spirit, thinking over within himself during this reception the passion of Christ. He also says that he received this sacrament another time in the town of Spyne, but he obstinately says and holds that he received nothing at that time except material bread. . . .

Also being further asked in what parts of England he had chiefly dwelt, he said in the town of Bristol and the city of London, and he said that he was for some time in the hostelry of a certain William Webster in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, near the town house of the Bishop of Norwich.

Also he confessed before the court that he was accused of the crime of heresy before the reverend father Lord Thomas Bishop of London and imprisoned for this crime and also was abjured by the suffragan of the said Bishop of London and Master Thomas Leseux then Dean of the church of St. Paul's in London [and the Bishop's chancellor and registrar] and that he then abjured before the same commissioners of the lord Bishop of London all . . . heresies and opinions contrary to the orthodox belief.

[He was questioned in detail as to his beliefs, which are summed up in the Bishop's judgment as follows :]

Concerning the sacrament of the altar, that after the words of consecration pronounced in the time of mass by

the priest, the substance of bread remains there, and that it is not the true body of Christ. Also that the Apostles had not the power to consecrate and make the body of our Lord, far less have priests the power now so to make and consecrate it in the time of mass. Also that a sinful priest has not the power of absolving anyone in confession from the stains of his sins, nor does it profit a man to confess to a priest, but only to God, because man offends only against God. Also that images are not to be adored, nor ought anyone to place candles or lights before such images or make offerings to them, because these images are stocks and stones. Also that there is no place of purgatory. Also that the mass is of no value. Also that the singing of the divine offices, music and organs or ringing of bells in the church are to be altogether reviled.

[Another opinion elicited in examination but omitted from this summary.]

That a child standing in no danger, brought by the priest to brooks or ponds and baptised in that water only by the priest in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, was as well baptised as it would be with all the ceremonies ordained and constituted in the Church.

[Wyllys again recanted and was absolved, but was handed over to the secular arm as a relapsed heretic and burnt.]

11.

[Heresy in the diocese of London. (a) "Gregory's Chronicle," pp. 233-4. 1467.]

Alle soo thys same yere there was an herryke i-brende at the Towre Hylle, for he dyspysyd the sacrament of the auter; hys name was Wylliam Balowe, and he dwellyd at Walden. And he and hys wyffe were abjuryd longe tyme be-fore. And my Lorde of London kepte hym in preson

longe tyme, and he wolde not make noo confessyon unto noo pryste, but oonly unto God, and sayde that no pryste had noo more pouer to hyre confessyon thenn Jacke Hare. And he had noo consyence to ete flesche aftyr Estyr, as welle as thoo that were bothe schryffe and houselyd.

At the tyme of hys brennyng, a Doctor, Mayster Hewe Damelet, person of Syn Petrys in the Cornehylle, laboryd hym to be-leve in the hooly sacrament of the auter. And thys was the herytyke ys sayyng: "Bawe! bawe! bawe! What menythe thys pryste? Thys I wotte welle, that on Goode Fryday ye make many goddys to be putte in the sepukyr, but at Ester day they can not a ryse them selfe, but that ye moste lyfte them uppe and bere them forthe, or ellys they wylle ly styлле yn hyr gravys." Thys was that tyme of hys departyng from that worschippulle doctor.

Alle soo that same yere there were many chyrchys robbyd in the cytte of London only of the boxys with the sacrament. And men had moche wondyr of thys, and sad men demyd that there had been sum felyschippe of here-tykys assocyat to gederys. But hyt was knowe aftyr that it was done of very nede that they robbyd, wenyng unto the thevys that the boxys hadde ben sylvyr ovyr gylt, but was but copyr. And by a copyr smythe hit was a spyde of hyr longe contynuans in hyr robbory. At a tyme, alle the hole feleschippe of thevys sat at sopyr to gedyr, and had be fore hem fulle goode metys. But that copyr smythe sayde, "I wolde have a more deynty mosselle of mete, for I am wery of capon, conynge, and chekyns, and suche smalle metes. And I mervyl I have ete ix goddys at my sopyr that were in the boxys." And that schamyd sum of them in hyr hertys.

[(b) The burning of John Goose as a relapsed heretic, 1474. Kingsford, p. 186.]

Also in this yere was ocne John Goose, a lollor, brent at the Tower hill.

12.

[Letter from Edward IV to Pope Sixtus IV. C.S.P., Venice, I, no. 451, 24 February, 1476.]

Shortly before we assumed this sceptre there arose a monstrous promoter of iniquity and perdition, one Reginald Pecock, of yore considered Bishop of Chichester, against whose follies and new doctrine, which tended to subvert the decorum and dignity of the Church, and which he did not scruple to din into the ears of mankind everywhere, the prelates of this kingdom instituted legal proceedings and consulted the apostolic see and Pope Pius about taking stronger and ulterior measures by their authority.

Concerning the same matter, Pope Sixtus's immediate predecessor issued letters, of which a copy is enclosed.¹ But as other national disturbances supervened, and in consequence of the death of him who gave the letters, they did not receive due execution. Moreover, after the death of the said Reginald, the writings and treatises composed by him multiplied in such wise that not only the laity but churchmen and scholastic graduates scarcely studied anything else, so that the pestiferous virus circulated in many human breasts, and ere long would have spread immensely, had not the Almighty revealed the confessions of certain penitents for the easier dispersion of the remaining followers of that sect. We beseech you, therefore, to dispatch other apostolic letters, by whose authority proceedings may be instituted from time to time against all holders of books and treatises edited by the said Reginald, and of any other erroneous books soever. We promise to employ all our care, diligence and solicitude for the perpetual expulsion from the confines of our realm of all novelties and condemned dogmas of this sort. We have commenced doing

¹ The enclosure does not now exist.

so to our utmost, as Nicolo de Firmo, your Holiness' servant, who was present at this commencement, and is the bearer, can explain more fully.

Given in our castle of Windsor, 24 February, in the year of grace, according to the English reckoning, 1475.

BOOK IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL.

A. COMMERCIAL TREATIES AND EXTERNAL TRADE.

1.

[Extracts from poem "On England's Commercial Policy". "Political Poems" (R.S.), II, 282-5.]

Ffor ther ys no reme in no maner degree,
Butt they have nede to our Englysshe commodyté;
And the cawse theroff I wylle to yow expresse,
The wiche ys soth as the gospelle of the masse.

. . . Ffor thow thei have met, drynke, in every kyngges
londe,
Yet they lacke clothe, as y undyrstonde;
And for to determyn that the trouthe ys soe,
Lestyn wel to me, and ye moste acord therto.

Ffor the marchauntes comme oure wollys for to bye,
Or elles the cloth that is made theroff sykyrly,
Oute of dyverse londes fer byyond the see,
To have thyse merchaundyss into theyr contré.

. . . Therfor let not owre woole be sold for nowghte,
Neyther oure clothe, for they must be sowth;
And in especyalle restrayne strayttly the wool,
That the comyns of thys land may wyrke at the fulle.

. . . A ordynaunce wolde be maad for the poore porayle,¹
 That in thyse dayes have but lytyll avayle,
 That is to sey for spynners, carders, wevers also,
 Ffor toukers, dyers, and schermyn thereto.

Ffor in thyse dayes ther is a hewsauce,²
 That puttyth the pore pepylle to grett hynderaunce,
 By a strange mene that is late in londe
 Bygun and usyd as y undyrstonde

By merchaundes and cloth-makers, for Godys sake take
 kepe,
 The wyche makythe the poreylle to morne and wepe ;
 Lytyll thei take for theyre labur, yet halff ys merchaundyse ;
 Alas ! for rewthe, yt ys gret pyté.

That they take for vi^d, yt ys dere ynow of iii,
 And thus thei be defrawdyd in every contré,
 The pore have the labur, the ryche the wynnynng ;
 This acordythe nowghte, it is a hevy partyng.

2.

[Act concerning the export of wool, and deceits in winding wool, 1463.
 S.R., II, 392-4.]

[The King] hath ordained and established, That no
 parcel of the said wools . . . be shipped or carried to any
 other place out of the said realm [of England] or Wales,
 but only to the town of Calais ; [Wool grown in Nor-
 thumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Alder-
 tonshire and Richmondshire is excepted ; but such wool
 may only be shipped from Newcastle].

. . . No merchant of the said staple of Calais . . . shall
 sell . . . any wools . . . but that he before, or upon the
 delivery of the same, receive and take ready payment and
 contentation . . . whereof the half part shall be in lawful

¹ Poor people.² Usage.

money of England, plate or bullion of silver or gold ; and all the same money duly to bring into this realm of England, and the plate and bullion so received do duly to be coined at the Mint of Calais ; and all the money thereof made and coined duly bring into England within three months next after the aforesaid sale. . . . And that no merchant of the said staple . . . shall sell . . . his property of the said merchandises of the Staple . . . at any other place out of this realm, other than at the said Staple of Calais. . . .

And moreover, because that daily great deceit is done in the winding, wrapping and making of fleeces of wool within this realm, by the owners of the same wool, by putting in fleeces locks of wool, and pieces of much worse wool than the fleece is, and also putting in the same fleeces tar, stones, sand, grass or dirt, to the great damage of the buyer of the same wool within this realm of England, and to the great reproof and damage of the merchants of this realm of England, which carry the same wools out of the said realm ; [those who do so to forfeit sixpence for every fleece]. . . .

. . . No person inhabiting within this realm of England, other than merchants strangers . . . shall freight nor charge . . . any ship or other vessel of any alien or stranger with any merchandise to be carried out of the said realm . . . if he may have sufficient freight in the ships or vessels of the denizens of this realm.

3.

[A corn law, 1463. S.R., II, 395. Cf. Gras, "Development of the Corn Market in England," 1914.]

Whereas the labourers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm of England be daily grievously endangered by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm of England, when corn of the growing of

this realm is at a low price, [it is enacted] That no person . . . shall bring or convey into any place or port of this realm . . . any wheat, rye or barley which is not of the growing of this land, or of . . . Ireland or Wales, at any time that the quarter of wheat doth not exceed the price of six shillings and eight-pence, the quarter of rye four shillings, and the quarter of barley three shillings . . . within the place or port where such wheat, rye or barley shall happen to be brought.

4.

[Act against importing manufactured articles, 1463. S.R., II, 396.]

Whereas in the said Parliament, by the artificers of manual occupations, men and women, inhabiting and resident in the city of London, and other cities, towns, boroughs and villages within this realm of England and Wales, it hath been piteously shewed and complained, how that they all in general, and every one of them, be greatly impoverished, and much hindered and prejudiced in their worldly increase and daily living, by the great multitude of divers commodities and wares pertaining to their mysteries and occupations, being fully wrought, and ready made for sale, as well by the hands of strangers being the King's enemies as other in this realm and Wales, fetched and brought from beyond the sea . . . whereof the greatest part in substance is deceitful, and nothing worth in regard of any man's occupation or profit; by which occasion the said artificers cannot live by their misteries and occupations, as they have done in times past, but divers of them . . . be at this day unoccupied, and do hardly live in great misery, poverty and need.

[The importation of many articles is prohibited, including, e.g. woollen cloth, laces, ribbons, fringes, embroidered silk, saddles and harness, locks, fire-tongs, tennis balls, purses, gloves, girdles, shoes, leather articles, knives, scissors, hats and brushes.]

5.

[Treaty between Edward IV and Christian I of Denmark and Norway, 1465. Rymer, XI, 555. From the French Roll. (Latin.) The commerce of Denmark was almost entirely in the hands of the Hanse merchants, and this alliance was part of Christian's plan to break down their monopoly.]

First, it is agreed that the leagues, confederations and friendship between the aforesaid most famous kings shall endure as long as they live, without any violation, and when either of them shall die, those leagues . . . shall nevertheless continue irrevocably for two years from the day of the death of that king; and also after those two years, until they shall have been expressly and lawfully revoked by any one of the kings of those kingdoms.

Also, all men of either kingdom may sail upon the sea, rivers, fresh and salt waters whatsoever of the other, and enter the ports, realms, lands and dominions, and trade in all and all manner ports, cities and towns of the realms, lands and dominions aforesaid, and with all men whatsoever (of what nation, manner or condition soever); free from the customs and tolls usually paid.

Also, the most serene king of England will take care that his subjects shall never sail to, approach or enter the land of Iceland, to the prejudice of the lord king of Norway, without special licence asked and obtained of the lord king of Norway, on pain of loss of life and goods: . . .

Also, all merchants and subjects of the lord king of England in the realms, lands and dominions of the lord king of Denmark: and conversely all merchants and subjects of the lord king of Denmark and Norway in the kingdom and dominions of the lord king of England, shall use and enjoy fully all and singular such privileges, liberties, franchises and free customs as they have used and enjoyed before this time.

6.

[Commercial treaty for thirty years between Edward IV and the Duke of Burgundy, January, 1468. Rymer, XI, 592-7. From the French Roll. (French.)]

First, that all merchants, as well of the realm of England, of Ireland, and of Calais, as the merchants of the duchy, county and country of Brabant, Flanders, the town and lordship of Malines, and other countries of our said cousin the Duke, be they merchants of wool, leather or victuals, or of any other merchandise, their factors and servants, may go in safety by land, on foot, on horseback or otherwise, passing on and over the water of Gravelines, from Calais into Brabant, Flanders, Malines and the other above-mentioned countries, and from Brabant, Flanders and Malines . . . to Calais, with their goods and merchandise, keeping their road between the sea and the castles of Mark and Oye, to trade with one another with all manner of merchandise except armour, artillery, canon, powder, and other similar and warlike goods. . . .

Also, that all merchants of England, Ireland, and Calais . . . their factors and servants, masters of ships and mariners, may go by sea, pass, return, hold intercourse, come, be and remain in safety in the said duchy . . . and in the ports and harbours of the same, with all their goods, merchandise and ships, and trade with all merchants of Brabant, Flanders and Malines, and of all the said countries, and other merchants whatsoever.

[Reciprocal arrangement for Flemish merchants in English dominions
"in ports and harbours where customers and other officers are ordained to attend to and receive notice of the coming in and going out of ships and merchandise, and not in others".]

. . . paying, with regard to the merchants of England, Ireland, and Calais in the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Malines, and other above-mentioned countries, on the

merchandise which they import and export there, and similarly with regard to the merchants of Brabant, Flanders, and Malines . . . in England, Ireland, and Calais, on the merchandise which they import and export there, the rights, tolls and duties due and accustomed when there was mercantile intercourse in times past between the above-mentioned kingdom and countries comprised in this present arrangement, without being obliged to pay others :

And, with regard to the merchants of both sides, touching the merchandise which they bring and carry, each on his own side, they shall pay for it the tolls and duties ordained by their prince and lord, and according to those which have course in their country. . . .

Among these conditions it shall be lawful for the said merchants of both sides . . . to have with them in their ships armour and artillery, for the protection and safety of their bodies and goods while going by sea, and to bring them with them into any harbours where they arrive ; which armour . . . they shall leave in their said ships or vessels ; except knives, dagger or sword, which they may carry, if it seems good to them, as far as their hostels, where they shall be bound to leave their said swords : . . .

And also that the said English merchants . . . may enter the fortified towns of the other party, without asking permission, save the first time only, each time that they come from one country to the other ; provided that at the gates of the aforesaid towns where it is necessary for the aforesaid merchants . . . to enter to ask leave, there shall be set certain people who shall have power to give them leave to enter ; and, in case they do not find any such persons at the gates, they may lawfully and without any hindrance enter, and ride or go to their hostels, and there remain until their hosts have notified their coming to the captains or officers of the said towns ; which hosts or their

servants, after they have been so required, shall be bound, immediately upon the coming of the said merchants, to give notice of their coming to the said captains or officers: and in case, by negligence or otherwise, the said notice is not given, the merchants may, within two hours after their coming, depart, go, and pass on upon their road about their business, and, if they find any person or persons at the said gates, and enter the said walled towns by their permission, they shall forfeit nothing. . . .

Also, that all pilgrims of both sides going on pilgrimage, and also clerks of England, Ireland, and Calais, or any other persons, of what estate or condition soever they be, ecclesiastics or others, going to the Court of Rome or the General Council, and returning, may enter by sea or land . . . the country of the other party, and pass and return peaceably through them, and be there in safety and freedom . . . provided that, on entering fortified towns, they shall ask leave to enter of the guards at the gates, and remain only one night in a walled town . . . and . . . if they are required, upon entering the said walled towns, those of one party shall take an oath to the other party that they do not pass that way to do evil to or to attack the other party.

[The regulations for merchants unable to ask permission apply to these travellers also.]

Also that all fishermen as well of England, Ireland, and Calais as of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, and other lands of my said lord Duke, whosoever they be, may peaceably go anywhere upon the sea, to fish and get their living, without hindrance or disturbance of either party, and without it being necessary for them to ask or obtain any licence, permission, or safe conduct. . . .

Also, that the English merchants shall and may have and hold, in the towns of the said Brabant, Flanders, and

Malines, and other countries of my said lord Duke, hostels for themselves, and enjoy there all such and such like franchises as they have enjoyed at any time during the last fifty years, when there has been mercantile intercourse between England and the said countries . . . and shall be treated as kindly and graciously as the other nations frequenting those countries and towns; and equally the merchants of the said countries . . . shall and may have and hold, in the towns of the said kingdom of England and the town and marches of Calais, hostels for themselves, and enjoy the said franchises, and also shall be treated as is said above concerning the merchants of England.

7.

[Commercial treaty for thirty years between Edward IV and the Duke of Brittany, July, 1468. Rymer, XI, 618-23. From the French Roll. (French.)]

First, that all merchants, both of our said realm of England, of Ireland and of Calais, and also the merchants of the country and duchy of Brittany, be they merchants of wool, cloth, linen, wines, fruit, leather, victuals, harness, armour, artillery, horses or other animals, or of other merchandise whatsoever, their factors or servants, may go in safety by sea, rivers, fresh water, and by ship, and by land, on foot, on horseback or otherwise, passing from England, Ireland, or Calais into the country and duchy of Brittany, and from . . . Brittany to England, Ireland, or Calais.

[The treaty closely resembles that made a few months earlier with Burgundy, *supra*, no. 6: merchants are similarly to have free intercourse, paying "the customs, tolls and duties at present and formerly due and accustomed". They may arm their ships in self-defence, but may not carry arms ashore except to their hostels, and except the "harness, armour and artillery" included among

their wares. They may enter fortified towns under the same conditions, shall have hostels, and shall be treated "as kindly and graciously as the other nations frequenting that country". Breton merchants, however, may not have hostels at Calais, Winchelsea, Southampton, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, if the town authorities do not think it desirable. The privileges allowed to pilgrims and travellers to Rome are extended to those going to Universities.]

8.

[The settlement of trade disputes with the merchants of the Hanse. After several years of bickering, a provisional treaty was signed at Utrecht on 19 September, 1473. In October this was confirmed by the following act of Parliament. R.P., VI, 65-6.]

The Kyng, callyng unto his tendre remembraunce, howe that in tymes passed unto nowe of late, the merchauntes and people of the nation of Almayn, beyng under and of the confederation, ligue and company called the Duchie Hanze . . . have had and used free and frendely communication and intercurse of marchaundise with his subgetts of this his noble reame of Englund, and they with theym, to th'encresce, availe and commen wele of both parties, as experience evydently hath proved: and howe that sithen that the oon partie toke displeasure ayenst that other, grete inconveniencenez, losses and damages have ensued, not oonly by mean of open werre doon and excercised by either uppon other, but also in withdrawyng the accustomed avauntages and commoditeez, which elles shuld have comen to hym, his seid subgetts, and theym also, by free entercourse, they here in his said reame, and his seid subgetts in their parties and contreys, . . .

In consideration whereof, and to th' entent that, by Godd's grace, the werre and hostilete that hath be betwixt both parties may utterly seasse and be avoided, and oold frendelyhode also betwixt theym to be renovelled in such wise, as it may abide and endure for ever, by th' advis and assent of the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, and the

Commens, . . . wolle of his gracious and bounteous disposition, that it be ordeyned . . . that noon of the seid marchauntes . . . be greved, charged, empeched or letted in tyme to come, in their persones, shippes, goodes, merchaundises or any other thyng, by reason or occasion of any sentence, jugement, margue or reprisale, decreed or graunted, by his Highnes and his Counseill, any tyme afore the xix day of Septembre, the xiiith yere of his reigne. . . . And that all maner plees . . . by wey of margue, reprisale or otherwise, moved . . . betwixt any his subgetts of the oo syde, and the seid marchauntes or persones of the Hanze on the other syde, for the takyng of eny persones shippes or merchaundisez . . . duryng the tyme of this last trouble and hostilite that fell betuixt both parties, that is to sey, fro the xxi day of November, the viiith yere of the reigne, unto the said xix day, sesse and be sette asyde; . . . And for the wele publique that may ensue to the Kyng and his said land, by the reconciliation of the marchauntes of the saide Hanze, and by that that the Kyng's subgetts shall mowe as ofte as theym shall like, repare, and resorte, unto the londe of Pruce, and other places of the Hanze, freely and suerly entre the same, there abide, and departe fro thens at their pleasure, to bye and selle with all maner persones, as frely and largely as any tyme heretofore they have be wonte to doo, with enjoying all and everyche their liberties and free custumes, which they have used and enjoyed resonably eny tyme passed; and that no prises, exactions nor prestations, shal be sette uppon their persones or goodes, otherwise then have be sette uppon theym, any tyme afore this C yere now last past or above: wherunto the seid marchauntes of the Hanze, by their oratours have assented and agreed. The Kyng . . . wolle . . . that all maner privileges, libertees, fraunchises and free usages, graunted unto the marchauntes of the seid Hanze . . . stond in full strength, force and effect.

9.

[Grant of further privileges to the Hanse merchants, February, 1474.
Rymer, XI, 796-9. From the French Roll. (Latin.)]

Also, it is appointed, convened, agreed and concluded that the most serene King of England, for the better satisfaction and compensation for all and singular harms, injuries and insults, of the doing and perpetration of which by the subjects of the Crown complaint has many times been made by the men of the Hanse . . . will appropriate or cause to be appropriated, to be held and possessed for ever by them and their successors, certain houses and dwelling places; that is to say, a certain court, situated in London, called the Staelhoef or Stylgerd, with the buildings belonging to it, and all the rights of the same, extending as far as and including the Teutonic Guildhall: also, in the town of Boston the court of the Staelhoeff otherwise called the Stylierd: and that in the town of Lynn a similar house, near the water, shall be ordained for the use and profit of the said merchants of the Hanse, and similarly appropriated by the said lord King, to be possessed by them and their successors for ever. . . .

Also . . . in satisfaction for all and singular harms done by Englishmen to merchants or any other men of the Hanse whatsoever up to the present time, and to root out and abolish all and singular hatreds and displeasures against the subjects of the English Crown from the minds of the men of the Hanse, the same lord King, of his royal grace and bounty, has granted to the Hanse towns, over and above the houses and dwelling-places aforesaid, a certain notable sum of sterling money, the payment of which shall take place during successive years to come from all and singular customs belonging to the King, of their merchandise lawful and not prohibited, which shall happen to be imported into or exported from the said

realm, so and in such manner that the merchants of the Hanse residing in London shall receive those customs in payment of the aforesaid sum until the whole payment shall be completed.

[The sum of money is fixed at ten thousand pounds sterling.]

Also . . . that the merchants of the Hanse shall be given possession and custody of a certain gate of London, commonly called Bishopsgate, according to the meaning, form and effect of the treaty formerly made between the same City and those merchants.

. . . Also . . . that provision shall be made that the same merchants may in future sell Rhenish wine in small quantities and by retail, as they were anciently used and accustomed to do.

10.

[Letters illustrating the wool-trade, taken from the "Cely Papers" (C.S.). The Celys were a London firm of wool-merchants, one member of whom was usually at Calais to superintend the sale of the wool. (a) From Richard Cely the elder, in London, to George Cely at Calais, 25 August, 1478. Cely Papers, no. 10.]

I grete the wyll and I have resayvyd from the a lecturer wryte at Caleys the xiii day of Auguste the weche lecturer I have wyll understande and ye have solde vi sarplerys¹ of my good cottyswolde woll pryse the sacke xix marke to Peter van de Rade and Danyell van de Rade marchantys of Bregys² the poyse the argent and the dayys³ I clerely understande and also I understand ye have solde to John Delopys and Cornelys van Dorne and Gysheryhrt van Dehnysbarga marchauntys of Bregys vi sarplerys of my good woll cottyswolde pryse the sacke xix marke the poyse argent and dayys I understande wyll for the weche I am wyll plesyd.

¹ Sarpler, a large sack or bale of wool, weighing about a ton.

² Bruges.

³ Weight, price and days of payment.

[(b) Memorandum by Richard Cely of the purchase of wool at North-leach, Gloucestershire, 1478. *Ibid.*, no. 11.]

Item the xxiiii day of November I have bogwyt of Wylliam Medewynter of Norlache xl sacke of good cottyswolde woll good woll and medell woll of the same xl sacke pryse the sacke of bothe good woll and medell woll xii marke the refus woll for to be caste to Wylliam Medewynter be the woll packer at the packyng of the forsayd woll at Norlache.

[(c) From Richard Cely the elder, in London, to George Cely at Calais, 2 June, 1480. *Ibid.*, no. 31.]

I grete you wyll and I have resayvyd a lecter from you wryt at Caleys the xxix day of May the weche I have wyll understand and that ze have solde vi sarplerys and pok of my medell woll cottyswolde to John de Solermer of Gante pryse the sacke xiii marke for the weche I am wyll plesyd were for I have schepyd at London the laste day of May xvii sarplerys of my cottyswolde woll were of be vi clotys medell woll in grete haste for the cokyys were made the same day and the schepys depertyd ii day of Jun and my lord levetenant he depertyd the same day and I pray God send my lorde and the woll schepys wyll to Caleys Rychard Cely hath be in Cottyswolde and hath bogwyt xv C fellys for you and him seve and xv C for me of Wylliam Medewynter the weche cam to London thys same day I wyll ye bye for me v or vi C of canvase at the marte for to packe woll wyt of a good brede.

[(d) From Richard Cely the younger, in London, to George Cely at Calais, 12 December, 1480. *Ibid.*, no. 49.]

Riught whell belovyd Syr I recomend me harttely wnto yow plesythe yow to wndyrstonde that I have schypyd at London in the Grase a Dew of Calles John Markes beyng master MIIII^xXIII felles qwherof be IIII^cXLVI Cottysowilde on markyd and the rembnant be somer and whynter of

London and thay be markyd with an O aull iii sortys lyes togyddyr whon with anothy before the maste wndyr the hachys.

[(e) Letter from William Cely to Richard and George Cely in London. 13 August, 1482. *Ibid.*, no. 96.]

Ryght worshyppfull masters affter dew recomandasjon I lowly recomend me unto yowre masterschyppys. Furder more plese hit yowre masterschyppys to understand that thys day I receyved an letter from yowre masterschyppys wherein ys wrytten the numbyr and poyse of yowre woll and the tale of yowre fellis whych ze hawe schyppyd at London in thys flete and the namys of every schypp, etc. Item Syrs I understand be the sayd letter that yowre masterschyppys woll hawe yowre wull howssyd in yowre wull howsse be the est wache howsse and yowre felles in yowre howsse by sent Nycolas chyrche whych at the ryvyng alond shall be howssyd acordyng, etc.

[(f) The same to the same, 16 August, 1482. *Ibid.*, no. 97.]

Plese hit yowr masterschyppes to be enfformyd that thys day the xvi day of Auguste the wull flete came to Callez bothe off Lundon and Ypysweche yn saffte thankyd be Godd.

11.

[Calais, and the wealth of the Staple. Comines, "Mémoires," I, 235-6. (French.)]

[Calais] is the greatest treasure of England and the fairest captaincy in the world, in my opinion, or at least in Christendom: for I was there several times during these differences [between Edward IV and Warwick]: and it was told me for certain, at the time I speak of, by the mayor of the Staple of Calais, that he would give the king of England fifteen thousand écus as farm from it. For he takes all the profit of that which they have on this side of

the sea and of the safeconducts, and puts the captain [and] the greater part of the garrison at their posts.

12.

[The Iceland trade. (a) Regulations for ships trading to Iceland, 23 February, 1484. The fish trade with Iceland was of great importance. Printed in Letters, etc., of Richard III and Henry VII (R.S.), II, 287, from MS. Harl. 433, f. 159b.]

Richard etc. to all maner awners, maisters and mariners of the naveye of our counties of Norffolk and Suffolk aswele fisshers as other entending to departe into the parties of Island and to every of them greting. Forasmoche as we understande that certain of you entend hastily to departe towardses Island not purveied of waughters¹ for your suertie in that behalve, we for certain gret causes and consideracions us moving woll and straitly charge you all and every of you that ye ne noon of you severelly depart out of any of our havens of this our realme towardses the said parties of Island without our licence furst had soo to do, and therupon that ye gadre and assemble your selff in suche one of our havens or poortes in our said counties of Norffolk and Suffolk as ye shall thinke most convenient, wele harnysshed and apparelled for your owne suertie, and so forto departe all togider toward Humbre to attende ther upon our shippes of Hull as your waughters for the suertie of you all. And that ye dessevere not without tempest of weder compelle you, bot that ye kepe you togeder, aswele going into the said parties as in your retourne into this our realme, without any wilfull breche to the contrarie, upon payn to forfaitur of your shippes and goodes in the same.

[(b) Appointment of a "fishing admiral" to control the Iceland traders, 6 July, 1484. MS. Harl. 433, f. 180b.]

Richard etc. to all manermerchauntes, fisshermen, maister mariners and othre our subgiettes now being in the parties

¹ Wafters, pilots.

of Island and to every of thaym greting. We late you wite that . . . we have appointed and commanded our trusty servaunt William Combreshall, captain of our ship named the Elizabeth, to departe with the same towardses you and to be your conveier and wafter to suche place or places as he shall thinke convenyent aswele for your sureties as for odre gret causes concernyng our pleasure. Wherefor we woll and straitly charge you all and every of you that whensoever ye shall fortune to mete with our said servaunt, ye dispose you to be ordered and guyded by him.

13.

[Anglo-Venetian trade. (a) Decree of the Venetian Senate relating to the Venetian factory in London, 24 February, 1464. C.S.P., Venetian, I, no. 393.]

Bernardo Giustinian, consul of their merchants in London, announces that the factory there is so burdened with debts, that unless a speedy remedy be applied, it must relapse into its former difficulties. Put to the ballot, that cloths and other English merchandise exported by Venetian merchants, either in their own names or in the names of aliens in Venetian galleys or ships, from any place soever, for Spain, Barbary, Majorca, and Italy, do pay fivepence for every pound sterling to the factory, in like manner as paid by goods imported into Venice from England.

[(b) Another decree of the Venetian Senate, 26 September, 1480. *Ibid.*, I, no. 473.]

By letters from Ferigo di Priuli, consul in London, are assured that the factory there is so burdened with debts, that unless a remedy be applied . . . that voyage must be abandoned, this being caused by the very heavy expenses incurred, and by the renitency of the debtors who have by no means cared to pay.

[Provisions made to enforce the payment of customs.]

[(c) Extracts from the Doge's commission appointing a Captain of the Flanders galleys, 1485. C.S.P., Venetian, I, no. 492.]

Salary for the voyage 600 golden ducats, with which, besides servants, he is to keep a clerk, priest, notary, an admiral—for whose board, and not his pay, he is alone responsible—and two physicians. The salaries of the captain, admiral, musicians, physicians and others to be paid as usual by the masters. For the present year, each galley to have . . . 30 good arbalest men . . . with a monthly salary of 19 livres . . . and galley rations as usual, like the oarsmen. . . .

On making the island of England, the captain to dismiss the two galleys bound to London; and should there be more spices for Sluys than contained in the two galleys destined for that port, in that case one of the two London galleys . . . to go to Sluys, and after landing the spices return to London as customary of late years. The galleys, on going to any place in England, not to load or unload anything soever under penalty of 500 ducats. . . .

The London galleys being dismissed, the captain is then to go with the others to Sluys, there to remain for 60 days, those of arrival and departure not included; and on their expiration, he is to proceed either to Sandwich or Hampton, as shall seem best to him; and in the port thus selected he is to remain and load for 60 days,¹ and then return to Venice. . . .

Of the two London galleys, one . . . to return by the coast of Barbary; shipping first of all in England fine cloths and merchandise. . . . The cloths called Bastards, Lowestoft, white "Gotifaldi" wools, and block tin, to be loaded for Venice alone, and not for intermediate ports. . . .

Prohibition against stowing on deck either chests or wrought pewter; nor may currants or molasses be stowed in the hold.

Gross spice to pay freight at the rate of four ducats;

¹ Elsewhere the document says 90 days.

small spice and Levant sugar, five ducats; cottons, raw and spun, 12 ducats; currants, lambskins and undressed hides, 18 ducats; wax of every sort, 10 ducats; dressed hides, 10 ducats for every 1,000; paper, one ducat and a half for every bale containing 12 reams; silks of every sort, 20 ducats per thousand-weight Troy. Foreign fustians may be imported under the usual restrictions. Cloths valued at 25 ducats and under, half a ducat per piece, and of higher value, one ducat; household utensils, half a ducat per 100; and should any one smuggle raw silk, or cloth of silk, or pass them as spices, substituting one sort of merchandise for another, the goods to be forfeited.

The freights of merchandise and goods loaded for the intermediate ports to belong to the masters; but all goods loaded in Flanders, Malaga, England, and Sicily, whether on deck or below, to pay freight to the Signory.

14.

[An Act touchinge the Marchauntes of Italy, 1484. S.R., II, 489-93.]

Because our said Sovereign Lord the King, upon petition made to him in his Parliament, by the Commons of England, hath conceived and understanden, that whereas Merchauntes Straungiers of the Nacion of Italie . . . in greate noubre been enhabited and kepe householdes aswell within his Citee of London as in other Citees and Burghes within this his realme, and take warehouses and cellers, and therein put their wares and merchaundises the whiche they bryng into this his said roialme, and theym in their said warehouses and cellars deceyvably pak medle and kepe unto the tyme the prices therof been greatly enhaunced for their most lucre, and the same wares and merchaundises than selle to all maner people aswell within the portes wherunto they bryng their said wares . . . as in other dyvers and many places generali

withyn this realme as well by retaile as otherwise; And also bye in the said portes and other places at their liberte the commoditees of this Realme and sell theym agayne at their pleasure within the same realme. . . . Also the said merchauntes of Italie bye in diverse places within this realme greate quantities of woll wollen cloth and other merchaundises . . . and part of theym they selle agayne . . . and moche of the saide wolles they delyver unto clothiers therof to make clothe after their pleasures; Moreover artifycers and other straungiers not born under the King's obeysaunce . . . use makynge of clothe and other handcraftis and easy occupacions, and brynge and convey from the parties of beyonde the see greate substaunce of wares . . . unto faires and merkettis . . . and there selle the same aswell by retaile as otherwise as frely as any of the King's subgiettes . . . and in no wise woll suffre nor take any of the King's subgiettes to werk with theym, but they only take in to their service people born in their owne countreis, . . . And whan the merchauntes and artificers straungiers above reherced have gotyn within this realme . . . greate substans of goodes they departe out of this said roialme . . . and . . . spende the same goodes oftentymes amonge the King's adversaries. . . . [It is therefore enacted] that all the said merchauntes of Italie, the whiche after the fest of Ester next commynge shall brynge any merchaundises or wares into this realme . . . selle or bartre the said wares . . . in grose and not by retaile unto the King's subgiettes . . . within viii monethes next after their first arryvall. . . . And the money comynge of or by the said sales . . . employ and therewith bye the commoditees or merchaundises of this said realme of Englund, within the said viii monethes, in the said porte or portes where they shall fyrst arryve. . . . Also that none of the said merchauntes . . . shall selle or bartre any wolles wollen clothes or other merchaundise within this said realme, whiche the same

merchauntes . . . shall bye within the same realme; nor that the said merchauntes nor eny other for theym shall delyvere any wolles to any persone to make clothe of within the same realme. . . . Also that no persone not borne under the King's obeisaunce nor made deinseyn beyng an artificer . . . drape or make any clothe . . . within the said realme. . . . Also that no persone not borne under the King's obeisaunce . . . take any apprentice servaunt or any other persone to wirke with hym or to his use, but if he be his sone or his doughtier . . . but if the same apprentices . . . ben the King's subgiettes born. . . . Provided alwey that this acte . . . in no wise extende or be prejudiciall . . . to any artificer or merchaunt straungier of what nacion or contrey he be or shalbe of, for bryngyng into this realme, or selling by retail or otherwise, of any maner bokes wrytten or imprynted, or for the inhabitynge within the said realme for the same intent, or to any scrivener allumynour reader or printer of suche bookes . . . or for their abode in the same reame for the excercisyng of the said occupacions.

B. INDUSTRY AND INTERNAL TRADE.

1.

[Extracts from the regulations made by the Craft of Brewers of London and allowed by the Mayor and Alderman, 5 December, 1482. Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, Letter-book L, ff. 182-4b. ("Calendar of Letter-book L," pp. 200-2.)]

Ffirst that every persone occupiying the craft or feet of bruyng within the ffraunchese of the said Citee make or do to be made goode and hable ale and holesome for mannys body, convenable and accordyng in strength and fynesse to the price of the malt for the tyme being, and that no maner ale after it be clensed and sett on jeyst¹

¹ A balk of timber, bench.

be put to sale nor born oute to any custumers hous till that it have fully spoured,¹ and also be tasted and aviwed by the Wardeyns of the said Craft of bruers for the tyme being or by their deputie thereto by theym assigned. . . .

Also that no maner persone as is aforesaid occupiying the saide craft of bruyng within the said ffraunchese in any maner wise entice or labour to taak away any custumer or custumers afore tyme belongyng to any othere persone or persones as is aforesaid occupiying the said craft of bruyng, uppon payn of x s. at every tyme that he dothe the contrary. . . .

Also that no maner persone as it is abovesaide, serve or do to be served any typler² or huxter as to hym a newe be comen custumer, of any maner ale for to be retailed, till he have verrey knowlage that the said typler or huxter standeth clerely oute of dett and daunger for ale to any other persone or persones occupiying the saide crafte of bruyng within the saide ffraunchese. . . .

Also that every persone keepyng an house and being a Brother of Bruers . . . pay or do to be paied unto the Wardeyns and cominaltie of the ffraternite of the said Craft for the tyme being yerely iiii s. sterlinges for their quarterages,³ towards the grete charges and costes of the same, yerely to be supported and maynteyned concernyng the wirship of the said Citee and the honeste and good rule of the said craft and ffraternite. . . .

Also furthermore that every third yere, ayenst the day of the eleccion of the newe Wardeyns of the Craft . . . the lyverey of the same be chaunged and renewed. And that every persone thereto admitted by the said Wardeyns than being, thereof be provided and have it redy made and be present in it, as gowne and hode, on the said day of eleccion at the offeryng at the masse, in the parissch chirch of our Lady Seint Mary in Aldermanbury. . . . And also

¹ Fermented.

² Retailer.

³ Contribution to gild funds.

to be present the same day in the said lyverey at dyner in the comon hall of the said ffraternite as of old tyme it hath been used and accustomed. And that every suche persone kepe his said lyverey by the space of vi yerres than next folowyng for diverse assemblies of the ffeolaship. . . . And if any suche persone as is abovesaid have received of the said Wardeyns for the tyme being an example or patron¹ of the said lyverey and so to be licenced to provide and bye his cloth for his said lyverey where it shall pleas hym, and the colour of the cloth so bought and provided be not accordyng to the colour of the said example and patron, that than he pay at every suche tyme a fyne of iii s. iiiii d. . . .

Also that no maner persone . . . occupiying the said craft of bruyng . . . take receyve or sett awerk in the said occupacion of bruyng any servaunte or servauntes but onely suche as been bounde apprentices to suche as occupie bruyng and suche as have ben bounde apprentice . . . and wele and truely have served their termes of apprentishode within the said Citee, and than made ffreemen of the said Citee. . . .

Also that no maner persone occupiying the said occupacion . . . take receive or kepe in his house any mo apprentices at ones to be lerned in the said craft than ii or iii at the moste, such as shalbe necessary unto hym and as he may honestly guyde and sett awerk in his owne service. And that every suche apprentice or² he be bounde or sett awerk in the said occupacion be presented by his maister to the Wardeyns of the said Craft for the tyme beyng in the comon hall of the said craft, there openly to be seen and examyned of and uppon their birthe and clennesse of their bodies and othere certeyn poyntes for the wirship of the said Citee and honeste of the ffeolaship of the said Craft of bruers, like as the rule and custume is in diverse other Craftes of the said Citee.

¹ Pattern.

² Before.

2.

[Extract from the ordinances of the Gild of Cordwainers or shoemakers of Exeter, 1481-2. "English Gilds" (E.E.T.S.), pp. 331-2.]

Ffirste, that the saide Maister and Wardenz, with iii othere men of the saide crafte convenient, schall make due serche, att alle tymys, of every thyng necessary perteynyng to there saide crafte, as by sufferaunce they have used within the jurisdiction of the saide cite; that is to wete, of all wete lethere and drye botez, botwez,¹ schoez, pyncouz,² galegez, and all other ware perteynyng to the saide crafte, made and unmade, whiche is desceyteously wrought, as in tannyng, corynyng, cuttyng, or sowyng, or in any other wyse made, where-through the kynges lege peopell scholde be discevyd; that then suche ware, so founde defectyf, to be by the saide Maister and Wardenz forfet and seased; and that to be preysed lawfully in the Yeldehall of the saide cite; half of the same to be to the behough of the saide cite, and the other halfe to the behough of the saide fraternyte.

3.

[Examples of control by the "ffraternyte of crafte of Taylorys of the cyte of Exceter," 1480. "English Gilds" (E.E.T.S.), pp. 321-2.]

Memorandum, that John Kartor received iii yerdes of brod clothe, russet, to make a longe gowne to Sir John Walkyngton; apoun the whiche the sayde Sir John complayned to the Master and Wardons of lackyng of hys clothe. And ther the gowne wasse send for; and ther wasse fownd of that cloth not stolen, but ther wasse fow[n]den cloth wasted a quarter of brod cloth for lacke of konnyng. And so hit ys juged, by the Master and Wardons, that the sayde John Kartor shall paye for the

¹ Long boots.

² Probably high unsoled thin shoes, worn with pattens or "galegez" —galoshes.

cloth to Sir John Walkyngton, xi s., and the gowne shall remayne with the sayde Kartor.

[Award made in 1481 by the Master and Wardens] bi-twene William Peeke and John Lynch his servaunt; for that the said William un-lawfulli chasted hym, in brusyng of his arme and broke his hedd. And for that it was chuged, bi the said master and wardons, that the said William Peeke shuld pay, for his leche-craifte, v s.; and for his table, for a moneth, iii s. iiiii d.; and for amendis, xv s.; and to the craift, xx d., for a fyne for his mysbehaveng aynst the craift.

4.

[(a) Ordinance concerning the Passion Play at Leicester. "Records of the Borough of Leicester," ed. Bateson, II, 297.]

At a comon halle holden at Leycestre on the xxvi^t day of Marche [1477] at the which comon halle the players the which pleded the passion play the yere next afore brought yne a byll the whiche was of serten deutes of mony, and wheder the passion shulbe put to craftes to be bounden or nay, and at that tyme the seid players gaff to the pachentes¹ their money which that thei had gotten yn playng of the seid play ever fore to that day, and all the raymenttes withal other maner of stuff that they had at that tyme; and at the same comon halle, be the advyse of all the comons, was chosen thes persones after named for to have the gydyng and rulle of the seid play.

[19 persons named, and two "bedalls".]

[(b) Extract from the ordinances made by the Corporation of York for the shipmen of York, 1478. "York Memorandum Book" (Surtees Soc.), II, 215-6.]

First, that every man occupiying eny shipping at the stahe² of this worshupful cite and is fraunchest, whether he be denisen or forant dwellyng, be contributori to the

¹ Pageant-masters?

² Staithe, wharf.

said shipmen, that is to say, every man salyng as maister with a freman pay yerely ii d.; and he that salys as a felowe, pay i d., to the sustentacion and upholding as well of the pageant of Noe as of the bringing furth and beryng of certan torches before the shryne of Corpus Christi yerely. And he that is rebell and wilnot pay his duety, as it is above rehersed, to rynne in the contempt of xx d. . . . And also that the said shipmen yerelie from this yere forward elect and chuse thame seircheours and pageant maisters. . . . And that the olde pageant maisters yerelie yelde and yif accompt to the olde seirchours and all the said feliship of shipmen. . . .

5.

[Punishment for selling light bread and bad butter in London, 1476. Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, Letter-book L, f. 119. ("Calendar of Letter Book L," p. 141.)]

Fforasmuche as John Mondue of Stratford atte Bowe in the Shire of Middlesex the which here stondeth nowe of late at the Cartes in the Chepe of London there solde unto certein liege people of the kyng oure soveraigne lorde certeyn loves of breade whereof diverse of theym lacked in weight xii unces in a peny loof, to the grete disceite of the said people, whereof he is lawfully attaynt. Therefore it is awarded by the Maire and Aldremen of the Citie of London in such case of olde tyme in the saide Citie used, that the saide John be set here uppon the pillorie by the space of an houre in example of all other that shall hapne in like wise to traspasse within the said Citie hereafter.

Fforasmoche as Agnes Deyntee of Northhawe that here standeth hath sold diverse disshes of butter within the Citee of London, the which butter hath be withoute goode and newe butter to the sight of the biers, and within stuffed and medled with corrupte and olde butter not holesom for manys body, to the grete disceyte of the

comon people as it oppenly appereth. Therefore it is considered by my lord the Maire and the Aldremen of this Citee that the said Agnes be ledde from the Yeldhull to this pillory with certeyn of the said disshes abowte hir nek, and there to stonde under the same pillory uppon a stole by the space of half an houre and then avoide oute of this Citee.

6.

[An act against deceits in the making of cloth, 1465. S.R., II, 403-7.]

Our Lord King Edward the Fourth . . . by the advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the special request of his Commons being in the said Parliament, hath ordained and established certain statutes and ordinances in form following. First, whereas many years past, and now at this day, the workmanship of cloth, and things requisite to the same, is and hath been of such fraud, deceit and falsity, that the said cloths in other lands and countries be had in small reputation, to the great shame of this land.

[It is enacted that all cloth shall be of fixed lengths and breadths; cloth conforming to the standard shall be sealed by persons appointed by the Treasurer of England. Faulty cloths shall also bear a distinctive mark.]

Also whereas before this time in the occupations of cloth-making, the labourers thereof have been driven to take a great part of their wages in pins, girdles and other unprofitable wares "as streccheth not to the extent of their lefull wages," and also have delivered to them wools to be wrought by very excessive weight, whereby both men and women have been discouraged of such labour; Therefore it is ordained . . . That every man and woman being cloth-makers . . . shall pay to the carders, spinsters, and all such other labourers in any part of the said trade,

lawful money for all their lawful wages . . . and also shall deliver wools to be wrought according to the faithful delivery and due weight thereof. . . . Also it is ordained . . . That every carder, spinster, weaver, fuller, shearman and dyer shall duly perform his duty in his occupation. . . . Also it is ordained . . . That all manner of woollen cloths made in any other region, brought into this realm of England and set to sale . . . shall be forfeit to our said sovereign lord the King.

7.

[Prohibition of the use of fulling mills in the manufacture of hats and caps. R.P., VI, 223. January, 1483.]

Prayen youre Highnes the Comons of this present Parliament assembled. That where huers, bonettes and cappes, aswele sengle as double, were wonte truly to be made, wrought, fulled and thikked, by the myghte and strengh of men, that is to sey, with hande and fote; and they that so have made, wrought, fulled and thikked such huers, bonettes and cappes, have wele and honestly afore thys gotten their lyvyng therby, and therupon kept apprentices, servauntes and good housholdes. It is so, that there is a subtile mean founde nowe of late, by reason of a fullyng mille, wherby mo cappes may be fulled and thikked in one day, then by the myght and strenghe of iiij^{xx} men by hand and fote may be fulled and thikked in the same day: the which huers, bonettes and cappes, so as it is aforeseid by the said milles fulled and thikked, ben brosed, broken and deceyvably wrought, and may in no wise by the mean of eny mille be truly made, to the grete hurt of youre seid Highnesse, and of all youre sujetts which daily use and occupie the same.

[It is enacted that fulling-mills should not be used, nor caps made in them offered for sale, under a penalty of forty shillings. The act is to last for two years.]

8.

[The position of women in commercial life. (a) Ordinances of Worcester, 1467. "English Gilds," p. 382.]

Also yf eny mans wyf becom dettour or plegge, or by or sylle eny chaffare¹ or vitelle, or hyre eny house by hur lyf, she to answeere to hym or hur that hath cause to sue, as a woman soole marchaunt; and that an action of dette be mayntend ayenst hur, to be conceyved after the custom of the seide cite, without nemyng hur housbond in the seid actyon.

[(b) "York Memorandum Book," II, pp. 241-2. 1481.]

Memorandum that . . . cam personalie into the counsell chaimbre of Ousebrigg on Johannet Loksmyth, the wiffe of John Loksmyth of Burghbrigg . . . and thare and then from the right worshipful Sir William Tankerd, the steurd of Burghbrigg, a letter broght and shewid unto Robert Amyas, than beyng maire of the cite of Yorke, the which letter shewid that the said John Loksmyth and Johannet, his wiffe, was burges of the said town of Burghbrigg, and aght for to have and resave the privelige thereunto belonging. . . . The which letter so redd and understond, the said maire admit the said John and Johanna his wiffe as a fre burges . . . thai soo stondyng to be fre and discharged in paying of tolles . . . within the cite of Yorke.

9.

[Changes in the coinage, 1464. "Gregory's Chronicle" (C.S.), p. 227.]

And thys yere was hyt ordaynyd that the noubylle of vi s. viii d. shulde goo for viii s. iiiii d. And a new cune was made. Fyrste they made an Angylle and hit went for vi s. viii d., and halfe ande Angyl for xl d.; but they made non farthyngys² of that gold. And thenne they made a

¹ Merchandise.

² Quarter angels.

gretter cune and namyd hyt a ryalle, and that wentte for x s., and halfe the ryalle for v s., and the farthyng for ii s. vi d. And they made newe grotys not soo goode as the olde, but they were worthe iii d. And then sylvyr rosse to a grytter pryce, for an unce of sylvyr was sette at iii s., and better of sum sylvyr. But at the be-gynnyng of thys mony men grogyd passyng sore, for they couthe not rekyn that gold not so quykely as they dyd the olde golde. And men myght goo thoroughe owte a strete or thoroughe a hoole parysche or that he myght chonge hit. And sum men sayd that the newe golde was not soo good as the olde golde was, for it was alayyd.

C. SOCIAL CONDITIONS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.

1.

[Sir John Fortescue's account of English social conditions. "Com-mendation of the Laws of England," chap. xxxvi.]

The inhabitants are rich in gold, silver, and in all the necessities and conveniences of life. They drink no water, unless at certain times, upon a religious score, and by way of doing penance. They are fed, in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish, of which they have plenty everywhere; they are clothed throughout in good woollens; their bedding and other furniture in their houses are of wool, and that in great store: they are also well provided with all other sorts of household goods and necessary implements for husbandry: every one, according to his rank, hath all things which conduce to make life easy and happy.

[Extract from Fortescue's "Governance of England," chap. xii.: "Here is shewid what harme wolde come to England, yff the commons theroff were pouere".]

Some men have said that it were good ffor the kyng, that the commons off Englande were made pore, as be the

commons off Ffraunce. Ffor than thai wolde not rebelle, as now thai done oftentymes; wich the commons off Ffraunce do not, nor mey doo; ffor thai have no wepen, nor armour, nor good to bie it withall. . . . Ffor soth theis ffolke consideren litill the good off the reaume off Englund, wheroff the myght stondith most uppon archers, wich be no ryche men. And yff thai were made more pouere than thai be, thai shulde not have wherwith to bie hem bowes, arroes, jakkes, or any other armour off defence, wherby thai myght be able to resiste owre enymes. . . . Wherefore the makynge pouere off the commons, wich is the makynge pouere off owre archers, shalbe the distruccion of the grettest myght off owre reaume. Item, yff pouere men mey not lightly rise, as is the openion of thes men, wich ffor that cause wolde have the commons pouere; how than yff a myghty man made a rysinge shulde he be repressed, whan all the commons ben so pouere, that aftir such openyon thai mey not ffeight, and be that reason not helpe the kyng with ffeghtynge? And whi makith the kynge he commons every yere to be mustered; sithen it weret god thai hade non harnes nor were able to ffight? O, howe unwyse is the oppenyon off thes men; ffor it mey not be mayntened be any reason! Item, whan any rysinge hath be made in this londe be ffor theis dayis by commons, the pouerest men theroff have be the grettest causers and doers ther in. And thryfty men have ben loth therto, ffor drede off lesynge off thair gode. . . . What than wolde ffall, yff all the commons were pouere? Trewly it is lyke that this lande then shulde be like unto the reaume of Boeme, wher the commons ffor poverte rose apoun the nobles, and made all thair godis to be comune. . . . Item, the reaume off Ffraunce givith never ffirely off thair owne gode will any subsidie to thair prince, be cause the commons theroff be so pouere, as thai mey not give any thyng off thair owne godis. . . . But owre commons be riche,

and therfore thai give to thair kynge, at somme tymes quinsimes and dessimes, and ofte tymes other grete subsidies, as he hath nede ffor the gode and defence off his reaume. . . . Item, we se dayly, how men that have lost thair godis, and be ffallen into poverte, be comme anon robbers and theves; wich wolde not have ben soche, yff poverte hade not brought hem therto. Howe many a theff then were like to be in this lande, yff all the commons were pouere. The grettest surete trewly, and also the most honour that mey come to the kynge is, that is reaume be riche in every estate. Ffor nothyng mey make is people to arise, but lakke off gode, or lakke off justice. But yet sertanly when thay lakke gode thai woll aryse, sayng that thai lakke justice. Never the les yff thai be not pouere, they will never aryse, but yff ther prince so leve justice, that he give hym selff all to tyranne.

2.

[A sumptuary law, 1463. S.R., II, 399-401. Another and even more stringent act was passed in January, 1483, but excepting from its operation all women except the wives of servants and labourers.]

Item, prayen the Commons in the said Parliament assembled, to our said sovereign lord the King, to reduce to his gracious remembrance that in the times of his noble progenitors divers ordinances and statutes were made in this realm of England for the apparel and array of the commons of the same realm, as well of men as of women, so that none of them ought to use or wear any inordinate and excessive apparel but only according to their degrees; which statutes and ordinances notwithstanding, for default of punishment and putting them in due execution, the commons of the said realm, as well men as women, have worn and daily do wear excessive and inordinate array and apparel, to the great displeasure of God and impoverishing of this realm of England and to the enriching of other

strange realms and countries, to the final destruction of the husbandry of this realm: our said sovereign lord the King . . . hath ordained and established, that no knight under the estate of a lord, other than lords' children, nor no wife of such knight . . . shall wear any manner cloth of gold, or any corses wrought with gold, or any fur of sables; and if any such knight do the contrary . . . then he shall forfeit for every such default xx li. to the King. And also that no bachelor knight, nor his wife, . . . shall wear any cloth of velvet upon velvet . . . upon pain to forfeit . . . twenty marks. And also that no person under the state of a lord . . . wear any manner cloth of silk, being of the colour of purple; upon pain to forfeit . . . x li. And also that no esquire nor gentleman, nor none under the degree of a knight, nor none of their wives . . . shall wear . . . any velvet, satin branched, nor any counterfeited cloth of silk resembling to the same, or any corses wrought like to velvet or to satin branched, or any fur of ermine; upon pain to forfeit . . . ten marks. . . . And also that no esquire nor gentleman under the degrees above rehearsed shall wear . . . any damask or satin, except . . . officers of the King's house . . . and esquires and gentlemen having possessions to the yearly value of xl li. and their wives. . . . No man but such as have possessions to the yearly value of forty pounds or above, shall wear . . . any fur of martens, letuse¹ pure grey or pure minever. . . . And also he hath ordained and established, that no yeoman, nor none other person under the same degree . . . shall use nor wear in array for his body any bolsters nor stuffing of wool, cotton nor cadas, nor any stuffing in his doublet, but only lining according to the same; upon pain to forfeit . . . six shillings and eightpence.

[The length of gowns, cloaks, and the pikes of shoes is regulated.]

¹ A kind of whitish-grey fur.

Also he hath ordained . . . that no servant of husbandry, nor no common labourer nor servant nor any artificer dwelling out of a city or borough . . . shall use nor wear in their clothing any cloth, whereof the broad yard shall pass the price of two shillings; nor . . . suffer any of their wives to wear . . . any clothing of higher price than before is limited . . . nor that none of the same servants nor labourers . . . shall wear any close hosen whereof the pair shall pass in price fourteen-pence; nor that the same servants nor labourers, nor none of their wives . . . shall wear any girdle garnished with silver; upon pain to forfeit . . . three shillings four-pence.

3.

[Remission of part of the fee-farm of Winchester because of the town's decayed and impoverished condition. Patent Roll, 1 Richard III, pt. 2, m. 20. "Calendar," 1476-85, p. 376. (Latin.) Many ancient towns were decaying at this time, as is shown by similar remissions in the Patent Rolls to Gloucester, Northampton, Oxford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Yarmouth, York, etc.]

The King to all to whom etc. greeting. Know ye that whereas the lord Edward the third after the Conquest, late king of England, our noble progenitor, by his letters patent granted and confirmed to the then citizens of the city of Winchester and their successors the aforesaid city with its appurtenances, to be held of the said king and his successors at fee-farm, paying therefrom to him and his heirs and successors a fine of one hundred marks yearly at his Exchequer. . . . And now from the humble supplication of the present mayor and citizens of the said city we have heard that . . . the same city afterwards, by pestilence of our lieges and others, withdrawal of merchants formerly dwelling and trading there, the ruin of eleven streets, twenty-seven parish churches and nine hundred and eighty-seven messuages within the last

eighty years . . . is so diminished and impoverished that it is not able in these days to bear and make payment of the said farm of one hundred marks . . . and sixty shillings yearly to the master or warden of the hospital of the blessed Mary Magdalene beside the aforesaid city, granted by our progenitors, and divers rents payable to us by the hands of our sheriff of Southampton for the time being, of fifty-one pounds, ten shillings and four pence for each whole fifteenth granted, and the repair of the walls and gates of the aforesaid city and other necessary burdens . . . as we have understood by trustworthy information. We, considering the aforesaid, of our special grace have pardoned, remitted and released . . . for us, our heirs and successors, to the present mayor and citizens of Winchester and their successors, twenty pounds yearly for ever of the said farm of one hundred marks.

4.

[The foundation of a gild. Patent Roll, 1 Richard III, pt. 2, M. 8, 20 February, 1484. Calendar, p. 386. (Latin.)]

Know that of our special grace and at the humble prayer of the venerable father John Bishop of Lincoln our Chancellor, and of our dearest cousin John Duke of Suffolk, and of our beloved and faithful cousin Francis Lovell Viscount Lovell knight, our Chamberlain, and of the whole community of the town of Abingdon . . . we have granted and given licence . . . to the aforesaid bishop, duke and viscount . . . to the praise, glory and honour of God and St. Helen and the exaltation of the Holy Cross, to found . . . a certain perpetual fraternity or gild of twelve masters, secular persons, and other persons our lieges . . . of either sex, spiritual or temporal, wishing to be of that fraternity or gild, within the church of St. Helen at Abingdon aforesaid, and that they may receive, admit and accept persons as brothers and sisters of

the same fraternity or gild . . . according to the ordinances and rules to be made . . . in that behalf by the aforesaid bishop, duke and viscount . . . or their assigns. . . . And that that fraternity . . . shall be named and called for ever the fraternity or gild of the Holy Cross of Abingdon in the county of Berkshire, and the said masters and brothers and sisters of the fraternity . . . and their successors shall similarly be named and called the masters and brothers and sisters of the fraternity or gild of the Holy Cross of Abingdon in the county of Berkshire. . . .

[By this name they are incorporated and made capable of holding property and appearing in law-suits.]

And that as often as and whensoever the aforesaid fraternity or gild shall happen to be destitute of any one or more of the aforesaid twelve masters by death, departure, removal, expulsion, or surrender, another of the most experienced and honourable men of the fraternity . . . shall be chosen . . . according to the ordinances . . . made . . . in that behalf by the aforesaid bishop, duke and viscount. . . . And that the masters for the time being may assemble lawfully and honourably in any convenient place within the aforesaid town and there take counsel concerning the good rule and other business relating to the welfare of the said fraternity or gild, and settle and make and perpetually establish ordinances, statutes and rules, and duly reform and correct those breaking them . . . when and as often as there shall be need. . . . And further and of our more especial grace we have granted . . . that after the fraternity or gild aforesaid has been thus founded . . . the masters and brothers and sisters and their successors may acquire and hold lands, tenements, annuities, revenues and other possessions whatsoever which are held otherwise than of us, to the value of one hundred pounds a year, to be held by

them and their successors for the upkeep and repair of our high way which extends from the said town of Abingdon to Dorchester in Oxfordshire and goes across the river Thames through Burford and Culhamford, lying between the said two towns . . . and for the perpetual support of thirteen poor, feeble and impotent men and women, and of two chaplains to celebrate divine service every day in the aforesaid church, for the good estate of ourself and our dearest consort Anne Queen of England and our dearest son Edward Prince of Wales, while we live, and for the aforesaid Bishop John, Duke and Viscount, and for all the brothers and sisters of the fraternity or gild aforesaid while they live, and for our souls when we shall have departed this life.

5.

[Warrant from the mayor to the alderman for keeping an armed watch in London at night. Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, Letter-book L, f. 7, 1461. ("Calendar of Letter-book L," p. 12.)]

The King our sovereign lord, for diverse causes and considerations his highnesse moving, hath straitely comaunded us to see that sufficient wacche be nyghtly kept within this Citee. Wherefore we woll and charge you as ye wol answere unto his highnesse, that ye provide and ordeyn [blank] goode honest and likely men sufficiently harneised and arayed to wacche by nyghtertale in your Warde, from the hour of ix of the bell in the nyght, till iiii of the belle in the morowe after. And this to endure till ye have otherwise in comaundment. . . .

6.

[Proclamation for the lighting of London, and forbidding the throwing of rubbish into the streets. Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, Letter-book L, f. 6b, 1461. ("Calendar of Letter-book L," p. 11.)]

Eforasmyche as diverse tymes before this grete hurtes perils and jeopardies in sundry wises have fallen emonges the kinges liege people within the Cite for lak of hangyng oute of lanteones or othere light by nightertale, and myche more is like to growe, if it shuld so lenger contynue, as God defende, the Mair and thaldermen of the saide Citee with thassent of the comons of the same, straitely chargeth and comaundeth that from hensforth every sufficient freman of this Cite havyng an hous into the opyn stretes, at the hour of vii of the bell in the nyght hang oute a lanterne at his wyndowe or dore, with a candell light theryn, of xii to the pound atte lest, hit so to brenne still till it be consumed and doon, upon that will falle therof. Also the said Mair and aldermen with thassent forsaide straitely chargeth and comaundeth for the honeste of this Citee, that no maner persone hereafter ley ne suffre to be leyd any dung rubbous nor othere noysant thing in the opyn stretes nor lanes of this Cite, upon peyne of forfeiture and lesing at every tyme iiij d.

7.

[Extracts from borough ordinances made at Leicester, 1467. "Records of the Borough of Leicester," ed. M. Bateson, II, 291-4.]

For wasshyng of clothes. Also that no woman use to wasshe no clothes ne none other corripcion at the comon wellys of the town ne in the hye strete in payne of inprisonment.

For scoldys. Also that alle maner scholdys that are dwellyng withinne this town, man are woman, that are

founde defectyf by sworne men before the Maire presented, that than hit shall be lefull to the same Mayre for to ponyssh them on a cukstool afore there dore as long as hym lyketh and thanne so to be caried forth to the iiij gates of the town.

For clensyng the strettes. Also that all men and women that been inhabitauntes in this town that they clense the Kynges stretes every man before his place, as well withinne the gates as in the subberbys of the same. And they that hath muk and swepynges and othere fylthes and corripcions withinne them do ordeyne a carte therfore to carye hit away, and that they leye non owte at there dors past iii dayes at the most, in payne of inprisonment as long as the Mayre lykes and fyne and raunsom to the Kyng.

. . . Catall abroad. Also that no man latt no swyne ne neet goo a brode, neythere before the herde goo afylde ne after he come hom, but kepe them inne tyll the herde come, in payne of losyng of every best ii d. . . .

. . . Of dukkes. Also that no dukkys be letyn abroad in any strete withinne the iiij gates of the town, on payne of forfeiture of every duk ob.¹ . . .

. . . For oppynnyng of shoppe wyndows. Also hit is ordeyned that yf eny persone, of what craft or sciens so [ever] he be off, presume or take uppon hym to open or sett up eny shope for hym self withinne this town or withinne the subberbys of the same or ² he be entrid into the Chappman Gylde, every siche person so openyng eny shope yerly shall pay iiij s. iiij d., unto the tyme that he be entred in to the seid Chapman Gylde, that to be levyed by the chamberlayns for the tym beyng to the use of the comons.

¹ Obolus, halfpenny.

² Ere.

8.

[Visitations of plague. (a) Letter from Sir John Paston to John Paston, 15 September, 1471. "Paston Letters," III, 14-5.]

Item, I praye yow sende me worde iff any off owr ffrendys or wellwyllers be dede, ffor I feer that ther is grete dethe in Norwyche, and in other borowgh townese in Norffolk, ffor I ensur you it is the most unyversall dethe that evyr I wyst in Ingelonde; ffor by my trowthe, I kan not her by pylgrymes that passe the contre, nor noon other man that rydethe or gothe [into] any contre, that any borow town in Ingelonde is ffree ffrom that sykenesse; God sease it whan it pleasyt Hym. Wherffor, ffor Goddy-sake, let my moodre take heede to my yonge brytheren that they be not in noon place wher that sykenesse is regnyng, nor that they dysport not with noon other yonge peple whyche resortythe wher any sykenesse is, and iff ther be any off that sykenesse ded or enffect in Norwyche, ffor Goddes sake, lete hyr sende them to som ffrende off hyrse in to the contre, and do ye the same by myn advyce; late my moodre rather remeve hyr howsesolde in to the contre.

[(b) "Warkworth's Chronicle," p. 23. 1473.]

Also in the xiii yere of Kynge Edward, ther was a gret hote somere, bothe for manne and beste; by the whiche ther was gret dethe of menne and women, that in feld in harvist tyme men fylle downe sodanly, and unyversalle feveres, axes,¹ and the blody flyx, in dyverse places of Englonde.

¹ Fit, ague.

9.

[Proclamation excluding lepers from London, 28 April, 1472. Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, Letter-book L, f. 83. ("Calendar of Letter-book L," p. 102.)]

Fforasmoche as divers hospitals, solitary placis nere adioynnyng unto the Citee of London, hath ben edified and bilded by many devote and weldisposed persones to the pleasure of God for thabitacion and dwellyng of people infecte with the contagious and perilous siknesse of lepour, the whiche people soo enfecte, refusyng to abide contynually in the saide places, ben vagrant and walkyng contrary to the wille and entente of the edifiers and bilders of the same aswel aboute in this Citee and suburbes of the same, comenyng and medelyng daily with other people whiche ben of clene compleccion and not enfecte with the saide sikenes, whiche if it shulde be suffred shulde cause grete hurte ieobardye and perell to persones of clene compleccion comenyng or medelyng with suche persones soo enfecte as it is aforsaide with the saide sikenesse. Ffor it is certaynly understond that the saide sikenesse dayly groweth and encreseth by suche medelyng and comynycacion more thanne it hath don in daies passed, wherfore the kyng our soveraigne lord hath directe his writte to the Maire and Shereffes of this Citee commaundyng theym, the premisses considred, to avoide almaner people enfecte with the siknesse of lepour aforsaide oute of this Citee of London, not suffryng theym in any wise to entre or come within the libertee of the same, upon a grevous payne in the same writte expressed more at large. Therefore my lord the Maire of this Citee chargith and commaundeth upon the kyng our soveraigne lordes behalf that no lepour nor any persone enfecte with the same sikenesse of lepour entre or come within the libertee of this Citee of London, upon payne of lesyng of his horse if he com ridyng on horse bake

and of his gown or upper garment of his body, accordyng to the lawes and usages of this Citee. . . . And if they come thider a foote and not on horsebak, that [the City officers] take away their gown or upper garment and in no wise delyver it unto theym ayene upon payne that may falle accordyng to the saide olde lawes and usagez etc.

10.

[Manumission of a man and his family, born in bondage. Register of Abbot Whethamstede of St. Alban's (R.S.), II, 47 (Latin), and introd. pp. xxxiii-xxxv. The fine paid for this manumission was 13s. 4d.]

The 28th day of July, the year of Our Lord 1465, the Lord Abbot manumitted and freed from all yoke of servitude, villeinage or bondage Thomas Crystmes, of Redborne, senior, and Thomas Cristmes, John Cristmes and William Cristmes his sons, and Helena and Agnes, daughters of the aforesaid Thomas the elder, with all their family born and hereafter to be born.

11.

[The state entry of Prince Edward into Coventry, 1474. "Coventry Leet Book" (E.E.T.S.), 391-3.]

Memorandum. That the xxviii^{ti} day of the moneth of Aprill cam oure lorde prince Edward out of Walys so by Warrewik to Coventre, and the Meire and his brethern with the divers of cominalte of the seide Citie, clothed in grene and blewe, metyng oure seid lorde Prince, upon horsbake by-yonde the Newe Crosse, in a chare, beyng of age of iii yere, there welcomyng hym to his Chaumber and yevyng hym there a C mark in a gilt coppe of xv ouncez with a kerchyff of plesaunce upon the seid coppe; and then comyng in-to [the] Citie. And at Babulake yate there ordeyned a stacion, therin beyng kyng Richard [II] with xiii other arrayed lyke as dukes, markises, erles, vicouns,

and barons, and lordis with mynstralcy of the waytes of the Cite, and kyng Richard there havynge this speche here folowyng :

Rex Richardus. Welcom, full high and nobull prince, to us right speciall,
 To this your chaumbre, so called of antiquite !
 The presens of your noble person reioyseth our hartes all ;
 We all mowe blesse the tyme of your nativite.
 The right lyne of the royall blode ys now as itt schulde be ;
 Wherefore God of his goodnes preserve you in bodily helth,
 To us and your tenauntes here perpetuall ioy ; and to all the londis welth !

Also at the condite afore Richard Braytoft the elder, a-nother stacion with iii patriarkes there stondynge upon the seid condite, with Jacobus xii sonnes with mynstralcy of harpe and dowsmeris,¹ and there rennyng wyne in on place ; and there on of the seid patriarkes havynge this speche under writtyn : . . .

Also at the Brodeyate a pagiont ; and seint Edward beyng therin with x a-states with hym, with mynstralcy of harpe and lute, and kyng Edward havynge this speche next foloyng : . . .

Also at the Crosse in the Croschepynge, were iii prophettes standynge at the crosse seynsyng,² and upon the Crosse a-boven, were Childer of Issarell syngynge and castynge out whete obles³ and floures, and iiii pypis rennyng wyne.

Also in the Croschepynge a-fore the Panyer, a pagent and iii Kynges of Colen therein with other divers arraied and ii knyghts armed with mynstralsy of small pypis, and one of the Kynges havynge this speche under writtyn : . . .

Also upon the condite in the Croschepynge, was seint

¹ Dulcimers.

² Burning incense.

³ Cakes.

George armed ; and a kynges doughter knelyng a-fore hym with a lambe ; and the fader and the moder, beyng in a toure a-boven, beholdyng seint George savyng theire doughter from the dragon ; and the condite rennyng wyne in iiij placez, and mynstralcy of orgonpleyng, and seint George havynge this speche under writtyn :

[Saint George.] O myghty God ! Oure all socour celestiall !
 Wich this Royme hast geven to dowere
 To thi moder, and to me, George, proteccion perpetuall,
 Hit to defende from enymies ffere and nere ;
 And as this mayden defended was here,
 Bi thy grace, from this dragon devoure,
 So, Lorde, preserve this noble prynce, and ever be his
 socoure !

12.

[Edward IV's entertainment of the Lord of Gruthuyse, the Duke of Burgundy's ambassador, at Windsor, September, 1472. Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant, printed in Kingsford, "English Historical Literature," pp. 386-8.]

Memorandum, that the Kynge did to be impareled on the far syde of the quadrant ii chambres richeley hanged with clothes of Arras, and with beddes of astate ; and when [the lord of Gruthuyse] had spoken with the Kinges good grace and the quene, he was accompanied to his chamber by me lorde Chamberlein [and] Syr John A Parre, with dyvers moo, which soopt with hym in his chamber : also there sopt his servauntes. When they had sopte, my lord Chamberleyn had hym againe to the Kinges chamber, and incontinent the Kynge had hym to the quenes chamber, wher she sat plainge with her ladyes at the morteaulx,¹ and some of her ladyes and gentlewomen at the closheys² of yvery and daunsing. And some at dyvers other games

¹ A game resembling bowls.² Ninepins.

accordinge. The whiche sight was full plesant to them. Also the Kinge daunsed with my lady Elizabethe, his eldest doughter. That done, the night passed over, they wente to his chamber. The lord Gruthuse toke leve, and my lorde Chamberleyn with dyvers other nobles accompanied hym to his chamber, where they departed for that night. And in the morninge, when Matens was done, the Kinge herde in his owne chappel Our Lady masse, which was melodyously songe, the lorde Grutehuse beinge there presente. When the mas was done, the Kinge gave the sayde lorde Grutehuse a cup of golde, garneshed with perrye, and in the mydest of the cup is a grete pece of unicornes horne¹ to my estimacyon vii ynches compase. And on the cover was a grete safyre. Then he wente to his chamber where he had his brekefaste.

[The day was passed in hunting deer in the park. The royal party dined at a lodge.]

By that tyme it was nere night, yet the Kinge shewed hym his garden and vineyard of plesyre, and so tourned into the Castell agayne, where they herde evensonge in theire chambers.

The quene dyd order a grete banket in her owne chambre. . . . And when they had sopt, my lady Elizabeth, the Kinges eldest doughter, daunsed with the Duke of Bokingham : and dyvers other ladyes also. And aboute ix of the clocke the king and the quene with her ladies and gentlewomen brought the sayde lorde Grutehuse to iii chambers of plesance, all hanged and besyne with whyt sylke and lynnenn-clothe, and all the flowers covered with carpettes. There was ordeined a bed for hym selff of as good downe as coulde be thought, the shetes of raynes,² also fyne

¹ As an antidote to poison.

² Cloth of fine linen or lawn, made at Rennes in Brittany.

fustyan,¹ the counterpoynt cloth of gold furred with ermyne, the tester² and the seler³ also shyning clothe of gold, curtens of whyt sarsenette : as for his bed shete and pelowes [they] were of the quenes owen ordinaunce. In the ii^{de} chamber was an other of astate, the which was alle whyt. Also in the same chamber was made a couche with fether beddes, hanged with a tent knit lyke a nett ; and there was the coberd. Item, in the iii^{de} chamber was ordeined a bayne or ii, which were covered with tentes of whyt clothe. And when the Kinge and the Quene, with all her ladyes and gentlewomen, had shewed hym these chambres, they turned againe to their owne chambres, and lefte the said lorde Grutehuse there, accompanied with my lorde chamberleyn, which dispoyled hym and wente bothe to gether in the bane. . . . And when they had been in their baines as long as was their playsir, they had grene gynger, dyvers cyryppes,⁴ comfyttes and ipocras,⁵ and then they wente to bedde.

13.

[The arrangement of a marriage. Letter from John Paston to Margaret Paston, 3 February, 1478. "Paston Letters," III, 219.]

Also, modyr, I herd whyle I was in London wher was a goodly yong woman to mary, whyche was doughter to one Seff, a merser, and she shall have CC. li. in money to hyr maryage, and xx mark by yer of lond after the dyssease of a steppe modyr of hyrs, whiche is upon L. yer of age ; and or I departyd ought of London, I spak with some of the maydys frendys, and have gotyn ther good wyllys to have hyr maryed to my brodyr Edmund. Notwithstandyng, those frendys of the maydys that I comond with avysyd me to get the good wyll of one Sturmyn,

¹ Blanket.² Canopy.³ Hangings.⁴ Syrups.⁵ A cordial drink of wine flavoured with spices.

whyche is in Mastyr Pykenhamys danger¹ so myche that he is glad to please hym ; and so I mevyd thys mater to Mastyr Pykenham. And incontinent he sent for Sturmyn, and desyred hys good wyll for my brodyr Edmund, and he grantyd hym hys good wylle, so that² he koud get the good wyll of the remenaunt that wer executours to Seff, as well as the seyde Sturmyn was ; and thus ferforthe is the mater. Wherfor, modyr, we must beseche yow to helpe us forward with a lettyr fro yow to Mastyr Pykenham to remembyr hym to handyll well and dylygently thys mater now thys Lent.

14.

[The custom of sending boys and girls of the better class to be brought up in other families than their own. Fortescue, "Commendation of the Laws of England," chapters 44 and 45.]

The Chancellor : . . . Who can be supposed better qualified to instruct him in deeds of arms, which, in virtue of his tenure, he is obliged to perform for the lord of the fee, than the lord himself, to whom such service is due from his minor ; and who is supposed to have a superior interest to advance his ward in the world, in this and other parts of education, than any of his own relations or friends. The lord, in order to have the better service from his tenant, will use his utmost care. . . .

The Prince. . . . By this means, our young nobility and gentry cannot so easily degenerate ; but will rather, in all liklihood, go beyond their ancestors in probity and courage, and in every thing that is virtuous and praiseworthy, being brought up in a superior and more honorable family than that of their parents : nay, though their fathers may have had the good fortune to be educated in the like manner before, yet the father's house, even with this ad-

¹ In his debt.² If.

vantage, cannot be compared with that of the superior lord ; to whom both, in their turns, have been in ward. Princes of the realm, being under the same regulation, like as other lords, who hold immediately from the king, cannot so soon run into debaucheries, or a downright ignorance : because, during the time of their minority, they are brought up at court. Upon which account I cannot but highly commend the magnificence and state of the king's palace, and I look on it as an academy for the young nobility of the kingdom to inure and imploy themselves in robust and manly exercises, probity and a generous humanity.

15.

[Extracts from "The Babees Book" (Early English Meals and Manners, E.E.T.S.), p. 254 *et seqq.*, to illustrate the standard of good manners, especially for pages in great households. About 1475.]

Now must I telle in shorte, for I muste so,
 Youre observaunce that ye shalle done at none ;
 Whenne that ye se youre lorde to mete shalle goo,
 Be redy to fecche him water sone,
 Summe helle ¹ water ; summe holde to he hathe done
 The clothe to him, and from him yee nat pace
 Whils ² he be sette, and have herde sayde the grace.

Byfore him stonde whils he komaunde yow sytte,
 Withe clene handes ay redy him to serve ;
 Whenne yee be sette, your knyf withe alle your wytte
 Unto youre sylf bothe clene and sharpe conserve,
 That honestly yee mowe your own mete kerve.
 Latte curtesye and sylence withe yow duelle,
 And foule tales looke noone to other telle.

¹ Clear.² Until.

Kutte withe your knyf your brede, and breke yt nouhte ;
 A clene trenchour byfore yow eke ye lay,
 And whenne your potage to yow shalle be brouhte,
 Take yow sponys, and soupe ¹ by no way,
 And in youre dysshe leve nat your spone, I pray,
 Nor on the borde lenyng be yee nat sene,
 But from embrowyng ² the clothe yee kepe clene.

. . . Whanne ye shalle drynke, your mouthe clence withe
 a clothe ;

Youre handes eke that they in no manere
 Imbrowe the cuppe, for thanne shulle noone be lothe
 Withe yow to drynke that ben withe yow yfere.³
 The salte also touche nat in his salere
 With nokyns mete, but lay it honestly
 On youre trenchoure, for that is curtesy.

Youre knyf withe mete to your mouthe nat bere,
 And in youre hande nor holden yee yt no way,
 Eke yf to yow be brouhte goode metys sere,⁴
 Luke curteysly of ylke ⁵ mete yee assay,
 And yf your dysshe withe mete be tane away
 And better brouhte, curtesye wole certeyne
 Yee late yt passe and calle it nat ageyne.

. . . Whanne that so ys that ende shalle kome of mete,
 Your knyffes clene, where they ouhte to be,
 Luke yee putte uppe ; and holde eke yee your seete
 Whils yee have wasshe, for so wole honeste.
 Whenne yee have done, looke thanne goodly that yee
 Withe-oute laughtere, japyng,⁶ or boystous worde,
 Ryse uppe, and goo unto youre lordis borde,

¹ Sup.² Soiling.³ Companions.⁴ Several.⁵ Each.⁶ Jestng.

And stonde yee there, and passe yee him nat fro
 Whils grace ys sayde and brouhte unto an ende,
 Thanne somme of yow for water owe to goo,
 Somme holde the clothe, somme poure uppon his hende.
 Other service thanne this I myghte comende
 To yow to done, but, for the tyme is shorte,
 I putte theym nouhte in this lytyl reporte.

D. EDUCATION.

1.

[Examples of grammar schools existing during the Yorkist period.

(a) A grammar school at Coventry, which was probably supported by the Trinity gild. It seems to have been founded in 1425, by the following order of the Leet. "Coventry Leet Book" (E.E.T.S.), p. 101, and Introd., p. xxx. (Latin.)]

Also, they will and it is ordained, that John Barton may come to the city of Coventry to keep a grammar school, if he will, and if he knows well how to teach boys and keep a school.

[The Prior of Coventry Cathedral Priory apparently tried to compel the townsfolk to send their children to the school provided for the almonry boys or charity choir-boys maintained by the Priory. Cf. A. F. Leach, "The Schools of Mediæval England". Leet orders in 1439. *Ibid.*, p. 190.]

They orden that they Meire with vi off hys Councell go unto the prior and comien the matier, wylling hym to occupye a skole of gramer, yffe he like to teche hys brederon and childerun off the aumbry, and that he wol-not gruche ne meve the contrari, but that every mon off this Cite be at hys ffre chosse to sette hys chylde to skole to what techor off gramer that he likyth, as reson askyth, etc. . . .

[(b) Free school supported by the Gild of St. Nicholas at Worcester. Report of the Commissioners at the confiscation of the property of the gild in 1548. "English Gilds" (E.E.T.S.), pp. 204-5. The property was confiscated and the school therefore destroyed.]

Memorandum: hit was presented by John Callowe, Maister of the said Guylde, Thomas Wylde and Richarde Dedycote, baylyfes of the said Citie [and four others] that there hath byn, tyme owt of mynde, a ffree scole kept within the said Citie, in a grete halle belongyng to the said Guylde, called the Trynite halle; the scolemaster wherof for the tyme beyng hath hade yerely, for his stypend, ten poundes; whereof was paid, owt of the reveneus of the said landes, by the Master and Stewardes of the said Guylde for the tyme beyng, vi li. xiii s. iiiii d.; and the resy-dewe of the said stypend was collected and gathered of the devocioun and benyvolence of the brothers and systers of the said Guylde.

[Owing to the great need of money to repair the city wall and a bridge and houses belonging to the Gild, the school had been discontinued for four or five years at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. When the repairs were finished, the school was revived.]

... they, before the ffeaste of seynt Michelle tharchaungell last past, provyded and have founde an honest lerned scolemaster within the said halle, in lyke maner as they before tyme dyd; that is to sey, one John Olyver, bachelor of Arte; who hathe there, at this present tyme, a-bove the number off a hundred scolers.

[(c) Extract from a private Act of Parliament, giving an account of the founding of Acaster Grammar School. R.P., VI, 256. 1484.]

Sheweth to youre moost noble grace, youre humble and feithfull subgiетts and continuall orators, the Provost and Felowes of the Chapell Collegeat of Seint Andrew the Apostle, of Netheracaster in the countie of the cite of

Yorke, late founded, erected and stablished by the reverend fader in God, Robert Bisshop of Bath and Welles . . . The said Robert, Bisshop, fundatour and patron of the same Chappell, by his ordynaunce and statuts, hath charged the Provost and Felawes of the same College for tyme beyng, amonge other thyngs, to ordaine and fynde ther for ever, with the frutes, rents, proventes, and revenues of the same Chappell, three divers maisters and informatours in the facultees underwritten; that is to witt, oon of theym to teche grammer, another to teche musyk and song, and the third to teche to write, and all suche thyng as belonged to scrivener craft, to all maner of persons of whatsoever cuntre they be within the reame of Englund, desirying to be informed in the seid iii facultees . . . all the seid iii masters and informatours to teache the seid iii facultees severally, openly and freely, without exaction of money or other thyngs of any of their suche scholers and disciples.

2.

[A chantry school. In 1445 Joanna, widow of Robert Greyndore, founded a chantry and school at Newland in the diocese of Hereford. In 1465 she for the second time amended the rules of the foundation. "Register of John Stanbury, Bishop of Hereford" (Cantilupe Society), pp. 105-7. (Latin).]

I, the aforesaid Joanna . . . have lately erected, made, founded and established a perpetual chantry of one chaplain, competently learned in the art of grammar, at the altar of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas in the parish church of All Saints of Newlond, etc., which I have willed and decreed to be called for all time to come Robert Greindour's chantry. . . . First I will and decree that William Philippes, the present chaplain of the aforesaid chantry, and all his successors, chaplains in the same, shall inform, teach and rule, or maintain at their own costs and

charges one scholar or literate person competently learned in the science of grammar, in a certain house called Blakebroke near the church of Newlond deputed by me in perpetuity for the habitation of the aforesaid chantry chaplain for the time being, to inform, teach and rule in his stead all persons whatsoever coming to the town of Newlond in order to learn, taking for his stipend fourpence for the term of each year at the hands of each of those who learn the alphabet, matins and psalms, and eightpence at the hands of each of those learning grammar. Also, I will, ordain and constitute that the rule and teaching of the said scholars shall cease at no time of the year except from the Saturday next before Palm Sunday until the octave of Easter, and from the vigil of Pentecost until the morrow of Holy Trinity, and from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula¹ until the morrow of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,² and from the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle³ until the morrow of Epiphany,⁴ for ever.

[The scholars are to say certain psalms and prayers daily after morning and afternoon school]:—

for the soul of Robert my late husband, and for my good estate while I live and for my soul after I have departed this life, and for the souls of all the faithful departed.

3.

[Thanks of the University of Cambridge to Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor of England and of the University, for benefactions to the University. 13 May, 1475. "Early Yorkshire Schools" (Yorkshire Archæological Society: Record Series), ed. A. F. Leach, II, 102-3. (Latin.)]

Since reason and courtesy evidently require that we should render thanks to our noble benefactors, although not

¹ 1 August.

² 15 September.

³ 21 December.

⁴ 7 January.

worthy, at least whenever fitting, and according to our small power give deserved praise to them as we are able. Hence it is, that by merit, both of uprightness and the showing forth of good works, the reverend father in God, and lord, Lord Thomas Rotherham, by divine compassion Bishop of Lincoln, Great Chancellor of England, chief and worthy Chancellor and singular patron of this our University, both for the honour of God, the increase of study and the profit of our University, has built schools, and a new library above them, of polished stone, costly magnificence and noble architecture, and for its fitting adornment in all things, has generously given books not few nor mean, and in addition has procured many other good things for this University.

4.

[The Universities at the end of the Yorkist period. Letter of Erasmus to Henry Bullock, August, 1516. "Epistles of Erasmus," trans. F. M. Nichols, II, 331.]

About thirty years ago nothing was taught at Cambridge but Alexander, the *Parva Logicalia*, as they are called, those old "dictates" of Aristotle, and questions from Scotus. In process of time Good Letters were introduced; the study of Mathematics was added, and a new or at least a renovated Aristotle. Then came some acquaintance with Greek, and with many authors, whose very names were unknown to the best scholars of a former time.

5.

[Epilogue to Caxton's first printed book, "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," finished in 1471. Cited by E. Gordon Duff in "William Caxton," pp. 20-1.]

Thus ende I this book whyche I have translated after my auctor as nyghe as God hath gyven me connyng to

whom be gyven the laude and preysyng. And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery and not stedfast, myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath ben, and that age crepeth on me dayly and febleth all the bodye, and also because I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastely as I myght this sayd book. Therefore I have practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said booke in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see. And it is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben to thende that every man may have them attones.¹ For all the bookes of this storye named the recule of the historyes of Troyes thus enprynted as ye here see were begonne in oon day, and also fynysshed in oon day.

[(b) Verses by Caxton at the end of the "Morale Proverbes of Cristyne," 1478. Cited by Duff, pp. 39-40.]

In Frenssh language was writen this sentence
 And thus Englished dooth hit rehers
 Antoin Widevylle therl Rivers.
 Go thou lital quayer and recommaund me
 Unto the good grace of my special lorde
 Therle Ryveris, for I have enprinted the
 At his commandement, followyng evry worde
 His copye, as his secretaire can recorde.
 At Westmestre, of Feverer the xx daye
 And of kynd Edward the XVII yere vraye.

¹ At once.

BOOK V. IRELAND.

1.

[Letter from the Irish Parliament to Edward IV on behalf of the Earl of Desmond, 1463. Desmond, a strong supporter of the house of York, and Deputy of Ireland, had been accused by an enemy of various crimes. The Irish Parliament wrote to the King on his behalf, recalling his services against the Irish Lancastrians led by the Ormond family. "Statute Rolls of Ireland" (R.S.), III, 184-7.]

Advertisyng your highnesse of the full grete and notable service that your faithfull subiect . . . Thomas Erle of Dessemond depute unto . . . your moost derrest brothir of Clarence lieutenaunt of this your land of Irland hath doon aswel unto your highnesse as to the right noble and famouse prince your fadre of blessed memorie whom God rest, of thimportable charges and costes by the same depute aswel afore thoffice of depute lieutenauncie of this your said land as after unto the said Erle committed hath daiely susteigned, he therof not faylyng but daiely contynuyng his faithful service right ordinate and worshipfull at al tymes . . . the saide depute guydyng and reulyng himself with all your true liege people accordyng unto your lawes . . . he hath applied him to set and put tranquillite peix and rest among your subiectes and true liege people of this your said land in suche wyse as by Goddis grace and his said labour pollitique wit reule manhode wisdom and streyngthe couth reche your said land resteth in reisonable peas and tranquillitie at this tyme aswel with your rebelx as Irissh enemies. Moreover pleas it your

moost excellent mageste roiall to have notice of the grete ieopertie whiche the saide depute with his kynnesmen and othres his waget men and adherentes with their bodyes and godes stode in by force of werre and bataile hadde betuixt him and your grete rebel John of Ormond and his adherentes at the said Johns furst arrivale in to this your said land at the which bataile by the fortune and gracieux disposicion of our blissed Creator and your vray true just title of your full noble corone were slayne of your said adversarie and rebell Ormondis adherentes and sequele¹ so grete a nombre that for certaine it may not be knowen and the said Ormond by bataile sconfuted² and put to flight. And also the continuel werre al the last somer had betuixt the said depute and the said Ormond and his adherentes. . . . Also it wold pleas your highnes to have notice howe the comens of your counte of Mithe to the nombre of v M^l. made insurreccion and risyng ayenst the said depute . . . he by his high pollitique wit . . . in presence of your right worshipfull and right discrete counseil of this your said land of Irland cased the said insurreccion and risyng withoute eny hurte off eny persone and by your moost gracieux auctorite and power roial toke the said comens unto your moost gracieux pardone and noble good grace. . . . It might like your moost excellent mageste roial the premisses tendrely to be considered and the circumstances therof to be emprented in your moost noble and gracieux remembraunce, wherthrough the said depute may stand in the tendrenesse and right especiale favour of your moost excellent good grace and him to thank hertely, so that therby he may have occasion and courage to continue and persever in your moost notable service the better in tyme to come. . . . Moreover it might like your nobley and good grace to have

¹ Following.² Discomfited.

in tendre respect howe your Irishe enemyes traitours and English rebelx usen yerely to goo to werre in the somer season whos malice streyngth and grete power may not be resisted neither your true subjectes defended without a notable sume of gode. Wherfor we beseche your moost excellent magest roial that it wold like therunto in tendrenes of your said land and sauf garde of the same neither to yeve ne graunte noo parte of your revenuz growing within your land to eny maner persone or persones, but that the said revenuz may remayne to be imploied by the said depute upone the defense and sauf garde of the same your land and subiectes therof.

2.

[Attempt to Anglicise the Irish of the Pale, 1465. 5 Edward IV, c. 16. "Statute Rolls of Ireland" (R.S.), III, 291.]

It is ordained . . . that every Irishman who dwells among Englishmen in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriell and Kildare, go like unto an Englishmen in apparel, and shaving off his beard above the mouth ; and that he be within one year sworn the liege man of the King at the hands of the Lieutenant or Deputy . . . and take unto himself an English surname of a town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skreen, Cork, Kinsale ; or a colour, as White, Black, Brown ; or an art, as Smith or Carpenter ; or an office, as Cook, Butler ; and that he and his issue use that name under pain of forfeiture of his goods.

3.

[The end of the Earl of Desmond, 1468. "Book of Howth," pp. 186-7. This book is a late sixteenth century compilation.]

John Typtofte, Earl of Worcester, being Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, the Queen, King Edward's wife, did hear say and credently was informed that the Earl of

Warwicke and the Earl of Desmond was greatly offended and also was grieved with the marriage of the Queen, and said openly that better it were for the King to follow his friends' counsel, which went about to prepare for him a convenient and a meet marriage, not inconvenient for his estate, rather than to marry a traitor's wife, which thing at length said they were assured should come to an evil end and a success.¹ The Queen, offended with these sayings, often did move the King thereof, which little he did regard, considering it was spoken for very love they bare to their assured friend and prince.

When that the Queen did so perceive that the King did make no more account thereof, she sought all the means she could to bring the Earl of Desmond to confusion. She feigned a letter which the King should have sent to the Earl of Worcester, being in Ireland, and she, resting with the King in his bed a night, did arise before day, and conveyed his Privy Signet, which was in the King's purse, and did assign the letter withall, and after went to bed; within which letter was the Earl of Desmond should have been apprehended and taken, and his head struck off in example of others which rebelliously would talk of the Queen as he did; which fact was done accordingly, and so executed at Dublinge,² then being called thereunto for a Parliament for the foresaid cause.

4.

[Letter from the Lords of Ireland to Edward IV, 28 June, 1468.

P.R.O. "Ancient Correspondence," LVIII, no. 50. In revenge for the Earl of Desmond's execution the Fitzgeralds of Munster ravaged Meath and Kildare.]

Advertising your highnesse howe that nowe late Gerot of Dessemond accompanied unto him your Irishe enemyes called Galloglaghes to the nombre of xx^m and horsmen

¹ *Sic.*

² 14 February.

to the nombre of xx^oiiii as it appereth by his wrytyng, came in to your counte of Mithe and ther your owen propre landes beyng in the marche spoyled and rubbed, and diverse of your townes enhabited upon the same brante wasted and destrued and brake certaine piles as well in the frontures of the marches of Westmyth as of your counte of Kildare, through conforte wherof Thomas Erle of Kildare, then beyng in warde within your citte of Divelin, was conveyed fromthens by Sir Roulande fitz Eustace knyght your Tresourer of your lande of Irlande in to your saide counte of Kildare, and so thei with suche felowship as they couthe make went in to the said Gerot to eide and supporte him. Thise understanding the right mightie and oure full good and gracieux lord John Erle of Worcestre depute lieutenaunt of your lande of Irlande arredied him with all celerite possible to have mette and resist the saide Gerot. And when he undrestode your saide depute lieutenaunt comyng to your town of Trym, he withdrewe him and his host to a place within your counte of Mithe called the forde of Athgane. . . . Neverthelasse your saide depute lieutenant folowed with his retenue unto the tyme he putte him to rebuke. After whos departire the saide Erle of Kildare and Tresourer offred to submitte them to your saide depute lieutenaunt for thoffense by them commised and to come in to him, the which offre so largely assured by grete othes your saide depute considering that your subiectes shoulde continue in the more tranquillite and peas from the daiely sautes of your Irishe enemyes and Englishe rebelx suche as was bounden in affinite to the saide Erle of Kildare thenn beinghe received and admitted to your moost noble grace. Moreover moost excellent Christen prince, duryng the tyme that your saide depute lieutenaunt was occupied in your full notable service as it is beforesaide, James Savage called Seneshall of your counte of Ulster and oon Conn Oneell

amightie capitaigne of the north beyng at werre, the saide James assembled to guydre your subiectes of your counte of Lecale in Ulster with divers othres as well Scottes as your Irishe enemyes and yede in to the saide Connes contre with a grete multitude of people, the same Conn having notice thereof made him redy with all the defensible men he might gette and sende in to the saide James dissimiling to have peix. And while thei were in trete thereof, the same James es fellowship, beyng a gretter multitude then that othre partie, trustyng that peix shoulde have been concludet betwixt them, the dissimilation forsaid not prudently considered, kepte nat their array, and so of infortune the said James and othre your subiectes of your saide counte of Lecale to the nombre of v^c were distrussed and slayne by the saide Conn, to the uttermost perdition of your said counte of Ulster without that remedy by your high wisdom and your worshipfull Consaille be the more hastier founden and executed. Wherfor considering the smalle nombre of your trewe subiectes that resteth with your saide depute lieutenaunt in comparison to the grete nombre of your Irish enemyes and Englishe rebelx, and howe the werres ben so diverse sourding¹ in every shire and the grete labor costes and expenses that your saide depute lieutenaunt so outrageouse and intollerable withstanding your saide enemiez, to provide and sende unto him souldiars and goode withall, with whiche your saide lande may be conserved and your subiectes therof defendet. And without that our saide goode lorde your depute lieutenaunt be assured therof in all hast possible we can not undrestande howe your saide lande may be conserved and defendet, for yf he departe out of this your saide counte of Ulster, considering in as muche as the werres ben so grete and diverse upon your

¹ Rising.

iiii shires, that is to sey Divilin, Kildare, Mithe, and Uriele, and the nown assuraunce of your Irish enemyes of Leynster as yet unto your peas, the which may not be withstande ne defendet but oonly by the presence of your saide depute lieutenaunt, to fynde a remedie suffisaunt by your high wisdome and mooste discrete counsaile, and it execute in all hast possible for the conservation of your saide lande as it is abovesaide.

5.

[Illustration of tribal wars in Ireland. "Annals of Loch Cé" (R.S.), II, 171.]

The kalends of January ;¹ the age of the Lord one thousand, four hundred and sixty-nine years. O'Cerbhaill, i.e. Donnchadh, son of Tadhg, son of Tadhg, son of Ruaidhri, died. Brian Mainech, son of Donnchadh, son of Aedh MagUidhir, was killed by Edmond MagUidhir, and by the sons of Philip Mag Uidhir. Eoghan, the son of Aedh Mag Uidhir, was slain by the sons of the same Philip. A hosting by O'Domhnaill, i.e. Aedh Ruadh, into Lower Connacht, and their hostages were received by him ; and he took the army of Lower Connacht with him towards Mac William Burk ; and they all went from thence to Clan-Rickard, and the Machaire-riabhach, and Baile-an-chláir, i.e. Mac William's town, were burned by them. Mac William and O'Briain came up with them, and the son of O'Conchobhair of Corcumruaidh was slain by them ; and O'Domhnaill went home in triumph.

¹ 1 January.

6.

[Remission of an annuity, to the city of Waterford, 1474. Patent Roll, 14 Edward IV, pt. 1, m. 4. "Calendar," 1467-77, p. 459. (Latin.)]

Know ye that we have understood from our beloved and faithful lieges and subjects the present mayor, bailiffs and citizens of our city of Waterford in our land of Ireland, that whereas the same mayor, bailiffs and citizens of the aforesaid city have and hold the same city of us by a fee-farm of one hundred marks a year, and the said city within the six years last past, by commercial misfortunes and loss of goods and chattels belonging to the citizens of the same city, and by the death of divers merchants of the city, some of them murdered and slain by land and sea, and some taken prisoner and ransomed, is greatly impoverished, and there is no law, justice or good government in any part around the said city, but rebellion, extortion, murder, slaughter, robbery and open war are made by our Irish enemies and English rebels against the said city, so that the present mayor, bailiffs and citizens of the same city are scarcely able to keep the same city or repair and maintain the walls and harbour of the same, without great relief given by us in this behalf. We, inwardly considering not only the premisses but also how the mayor bailiffs and citizens of the aforesaid city have remained our true lieges without fault during the whole time of our reign, of our special grace and for the repair of the aforesaid city and of the walls and harbour of the same, have given and granted to the aforesaid present mayor bailiffs and citizens and their successors the reversion of that annuity . . . of ten pounds which Nicholas Strangwisshe had and received or has and receives from the fee-farm of our said city of Waterford . . . and that they . . . shall be exempt and quit of the said annuity of ten pounds, part of the said hundred marks.

7.

[Illustrations of Irish culture. (a) "Annals of Ulster" (R.S.), III, 209. 1462.]

Thomas Cusin, namely, the Master of Law who was the best that was in Ireland in his time, was in Ard-Macha and kept a school [there] this year.

[(b) "Annals of Loch Cé" (R.S.), II, 177. 1477.]

O'h Uiginn, i.e. Brian, son of Ferghal Ruadh, head of the schools of Erin and Alba, died this year.

[(c) "Annals of Ulster" (R.S.), III, 269. 1480.]

MagUidhir died this year, namely, Thomas junior, son of Thomas Mor, son of Philip, son of Aedh the Red: to wit, a man who was of the greatest charity and piety and hospitality that was in his own time and a man that defended his territory against its neighbours and a man that made churches and monasteries and Mass chalices, and was [once] in Rome and twice at the city of St. James on his pilgrimage. And full were Ireland and Scotland of the fame of that Thomas.

[(d) "Annals of Loch Cé" (R.S.), II, 181. 1481.]

Mac Conmidhe, i.e. Conchobhar Ruadh, an eminent poet, died this year. . . . Slaine, daughter of O'Briain, wife of Mac William of Clann-Rickard . . . the general patroness of the learned and destitute of Erin, died.

8.

[Project for an Irish University, 1465. 5 Edward IV, c. 46. "Statute Rolls of Ireland" (R.S.), III, 369.]

Forasmuch as the land of Ireland has no University or general study within the same, which if it had, would cause as well the increase of knowledge, riches and good

government, as the avoidance of riot, misgovernment and extortion within the said land existing : it is ordained . . . that there be a University at the town of Drogheda, in which University may be made Bachelors, Masters and Doctors in all sciences and faculties, as they are in the University of Oxford.

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